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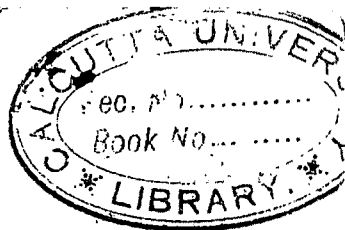
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# AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

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## THE PUBLIC FINANCES OF ROME 200-157 B. C.

It is impossible to secure the data by which to get an exact statement of Rome's public finances for any period, but, thanks to the survival of Livy's books from 31 to 45, we can draw up a general estimate of some value for about four decades of very important history. Livy's figures are, of course, not always accurate, but our best historians—for instance, De Sanctis—have reached the conclusion that, while his accounts of victories drawn from the enthusiastic reports of generals must be viewed with constant skepticism, the lists of legions assigned annually, of ships built, of war indemnities and booty actually turned into the treasury, are fairly good, if partial, transcripts of the censorial and treasury records. It is very likely that we owe these items to the diligence of the annalist Piso. To be sure, some items are lacking,<sup>1</sup> and in a few instances the scribes have copied carelessly, but we can at times supply the needed corrections from other authors, and at times strike a fair average for a missing year, on the basis of a series of adjacent years. Our most serious failure in statistics has to do with the vectigalia (port-tariffs, rents of public land, etc.); but the vectigalia were not a very important item in the first half of the second century B. C.; and I shall hazard by an indirect route a general estimate of them.

<sup>1</sup> The assignments of troops are not always given in full, the allied levies are recorded less frequently than those of citizens, and for several years, notably in the middle of the period, Livy refers only to the supplementary recruiting. However, we usually can tell from casual references how many legions are operating in each province.

Rome's income during this period came chiefly from the citizen tribute, from war indemnities and booty, and from vectigalia. The expenditures went mainly for the payment of troops—very heavy in this period—, for the navy, for transport service, and for public buildings. I shall not try to estimate the sacred accounts. As is well known, the civil service at Rome at this time cost the treasury very little. I shall carry my estimates from 200 B. C., when the treasury was practically empty, to the year 157 B. C., a date for which Pliny (*N. H.* 33, 55) gives the amount of silver, gold, and denarii stored in the treasury.

#### INCOME.

##### a. Citizen tribute.

Since the collection of the tribute came to an end in 167 because of the returns from indemnities, vectigalia, and booty after the defeat of Perseus, we are probably justified in supposing that the annual tribute was collected regularly from 200 to 167. There is no reference during this period to any doubling or multiplying of the standard tributum simplex as in the previous period, and, since the army was only about half as large as during the Punic War and since indemnities were larger, we should not expect more than the tributum simplex, which was a "mill-tax" (one tenth of one per cent) on all property of the five classes. From a chance statement of Livy (39, 7, 5) we know that the booty brought in by Manlius in 187, which amounted to a little over twenty-two million denarii,<sup>2</sup> was used to reimburse taxpayers for extra<sup>3</sup> tribute collected during the Punic War. Since this amount sufficed to pay back twenty-five and a half collections of the tributum simplex, the plausible inference has been drawn<sup>4</sup> that this amounted during the Punic War on the average to about 900,000 denarii annually (Roman private property would then be estimated at something like one

<sup>2</sup> See De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, III, 2, 626.

<sup>3</sup> Livy says vicanos quinos et semisses in milia aeris (39, 7, 5). Huschke (*Die Verf. des Serv. Tullius*, 505) and Marquardt (*Staatsverw.* 164) are probably right in assuming that the one-mill tribute was a tax and not a loan to be repaid. It was probably only the *extra* taxes, over and above the tributum simplex, that were repaid in 187.

<sup>4</sup> De Sanctis, *loc. cit.*; his argument develops the suggestions of Huschke.

thousand million denarii). Since property values increased rapidly during the next half century, it would be conservative to estimate the average annual tribute from 200 to 167 B.C. at about twice this amount. That is, the annual tribute for this period was about.....60,000,000 denarii.

b. Indemnities.

1. At the conclusion of the Hannibalic war Carthage was bound to pay in indemnity 200 talents per year for 50 years (Pol., 15, 18). Forty-three payments, made by 157, = .....8,600 talents.

2. In 196 Philip was bound to pay 500 talents in cash and ten annual payments of 50 (Pol., 18, 27; Plut., *Titus*, 9, 6; Livy, 33, 30, 7). In 191 he was excused from further payments. Paid in.....750 talents.

3. Nabis of Sparta paid Flamininus 100 talents in 194 and was to pay 50 per year, but was killed in 192 (Livy 34, 35 and 43). Paid in, probably.....200 talents.

4. Antiochus paid 500 talents to Scipio, 2,500 to Manlius, and 12,000 in annual instalments (Pol., 21, 14; Livy 37, 45; 38, 37) = .....15,000 talents.

5. The Aetolians: 200 talents in cash and 300 in annual instalments of 50 (Pol., 21, 30 and 32; 22, 13 and 15; Livy 38, 9 and 11) = .....500 talents.

6. Ariarathes paid Manlius in 187 (Livy 38, 37 and 39).....300 talents.  
(I shall include with the booty the exactions made by Manlius on the various minor chiefs of Asia.)

Total .....25,350 talents.

At 6,000 denarii the talent = .....152,100,000 denarii.

c. Booty and Spanish mines.

1) Booty<sup>5</sup> from Philip, Antiochus, Aetolia, Perseus, Illyria, and Epirus.

<sup>5</sup> Pais has given a list of these items in *Fasti Triumphales*, 417 ff., but by some strange mishap a score of serious errors (the substitution of pounds of silver for denarii, misprinting of numbers and mistaking centena milia for millions) has crept into the essay.

In calculating this booty turned into the treasury by the generals we shall at the end deduct the partial indemnities collected in cash from Philip, Nabis,\* Antiochus, Ariarathes, and the Aetolians, and presumably deposited by the generals in the treasury. I have calculated the Attic tetradrachmas (= 4 denarii), the cistophori (= about 3 denarii), and the victoriati (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  denarius) with the silver denarii. The gold Philippei, worth 25 denarii, I have reduced to pounds of gold at the rate of 40 to the pound, and have calculated the *coronae* at one pound of gold each (see Larfeld: Griech. Epig.<sup>3</sup>, 383).

Year	Nation	Gold lbs.	Silver lbs.	Denarii
194 B. C. <sup>6</sup>	Philip (Livy 34, 52)	4,191	43,270	336,000
190	Antiochus (Livy 37, 46)	45	3,000	1,199,000
189	Antiochus (Livy 37, 58)	49		534,000
189 <sup>7</sup>	Antiochus (Livy 37, 59)	4,757	138,843	1,860,000
187 <sup>8</sup>	Aetolia (Livy 39, 5, 13)	665	83,000	472,000
187 <sup>9</sup>	Galati (Livy 39, 7, 1)	2,723	220,000	1,250,000
167 <sup>10</sup>	Perseus (Plut., Aem., 32)	19,280	180,000	
167 <sup>11</sup>	Illyria (Livy, 45, 43)	27	1,000 (?)	73,000
		31,737	669,113	5,724,000

<sup>6</sup> We know from finds in Greece that Flamininus coined some gold which he used for expenses, but we cannot now estimate the amount. There is no reason to think that it was large. I assume that the amount of "booty" recorded by Livy included 500 + 50 + 50 talents collected from Philip before 194 and 100 talents collected from Nabis. Plutarch, *Titus*, 14, gives some details not found in Livy.

<sup>7</sup> Lucius Scipio was accused of not paying in a part of the indemnity. My figures do not take account of this rumor.

<sup>8</sup> This probably includes 200 talents paid in cash by the Aetolians. They were permitted to pay one third of the indemnity in gold.

<sup>9</sup> This sum may well include the 2,500 talents collected from Antiochus and 300 from Ariarathes.

<sup>10</sup> Our authorities differ about the amount returned by Aemilius Paullus. Plutarch, *loc. cit.*, gives: 77 vessels containing each 3 talents of gold, a plate of gold weighing 10 talents, and 750 vessels containing 3 talents. If these are all talents of weight, the amount would equal about.....33,000,000 denarii. Livy 45, 40, 1, quotes Valerius Antias as giving 120,000,000 sesterces (= 30,000,000 denarii) but says that the calculation of the vessels would yield a larger sum. The figures of Diodorus (31, 8, 10) would bring the equivalent of about 36,000,000 denarii. Pliny, *N. H.*, 33, 56, says, as the manuscript stands, *H. S.* [∞∞∞∞]. It is usual to emend this to [∞∞c] which would make it agree with Livy. Plutarch, *Livy*,

Counting a pound of gold at 1,000 denarii and a pound of silver at 80 denarii, we have about.....90,990,000 denarii.

From this amount we should deduct the cash payments made to the generals and already reported among the indemnities, namely, about 600 talents from Philip and 100 from Nabis to Titus, 500 from Antiochus to Scipio and 2,500 to Manlius, 200 from the Aetolians to Fulvius, and 300 from Ariarathes to Manlius, totalling 4,200 talents or about 25,000,000 denarii. Booty from the East—after deduction, about 66,000,000 denarii.

## 2) Mines of Spain and booty from Spain.

Scipio captured New Carthage in 209 and apparently took over the Carthaginian silver mines near that city, but the state could hardly have given the mines much attention till after 200 B. C. Spain was so far distant that the proconsuls apparently were given full charge of all administration at first. Cato, for instance, gave particular attention to the organization of the state mining property when he was proconsul there in 195. It is very likely that the product of the mines was, in the early period at least, carried home by the returning generals for the sake of safety, and I assume that the amounts reported to the treasury by generals in the following list include such ore, as well as the booty taken from the enemy. We happen to have a passage in Polybius (34, 9) cited by Strabo, which indicates that at one time, probably after our period since the passage is in book 34, these mines produced 25,000 denarii the day, but, since they were worked by 40,000 men, the production was only five-eighths of a denarius per man, which would not bring large profits even if captives were used in the industry. And with such intensive exploitation a silver mine would not last very many years at best. In the following calculation I have kept no distinction between the Roman denarius and the Spanish *oscensis*, since they were of about the same weight. I have

Diodorus, and Pliny therefore seem to be in general agreement. Plutarch, who gives specific details, has a plausible average which is not a round number.

<sup>11</sup> The text has XIX for the pounds of silver, which is so small that the text can hardly be right. We do not find less than a thousand pounds of silver reported. I have assumed 1,000, merely to offer a plausible amount.

omitted the bronze which is reported for only a few years. The amount of this is hardly significant except for the fact that at the beginning of the period the treasury was so impoverished that bronze was still sought after.

		<i>Gold lbs.</i>	<i>Silver lbs.</i>	<i>Denarii</i>
200 B. C.	Livy 31, 20, 7	2,450	43,000	
199	Livy 32, 7, 4	30	1,200	
196	Livy 33, 27, 2	1,515	20,000	34,500
195	Livy 34, 10, 4-7		49,532	487,400
194	Livy 34, 46, 2	1,400	25,000	663,000
191	Livy 36, 21, 11	127	12,000	130,000
185	Livy 39, 29, 6-7	264	26,300	
184	Livy 39, 42, 3-4	166	24,000	
182	Livy 40, 16, 11	149	9,320	
180 <sup>12</sup>	Livy 40, 43, 6	155	20,000 (?)	173,200
178	Livy 41, 7, 2		60,000	
174 <sup>13</sup>	Livy 41, 28, 6	50 (?)	10,000	
168	Livy 45, 4	10		250,000
		<hr/> 6,316	<hr/> 300,352	<hr/> 1,738,100

Reduced to denarii at the usual rate =

.....about 32,000,000 denarii.

3) The list of booty reported from Liguria, Cisalpine Gaul, and Istria (excluding a few early items of bronze, and in one instance, Livy, 36, 40, gold torques) is as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Nation</i>	<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Denarii</i>
200 B. C.	Gaul, Livy 31, 49, 2			101,500
197	Gaul, Livy 33, 23, 4-9			132,200
196	Gaul, Livy 33, 37, 11			234,000
191	Gaul, Livy 36, 40, 12	247	2,340	234,000
181	Liguri, Livy 40, 34, 8	25		
177	Istri, Livy 41, 13, 7			350,000
166-58 <sup>14</sup>	Liguri, 3 (Fasti Triumph.)		10,000 (?)	
		<hr/> 272	<hr/> 12,340	<hr/> 1,051,700

<sup>12</sup> Livy's text has a lacuna omitting the quantity of the silver. I have ventured 20,000 as a plausible guess after comparing the other series of items.

<sup>13</sup> Livy's text has 5,000 pounds of gold, which, of course, editors do not accept. Gold was now scarce in Spain. Probably V has somehow taken the place of L. I therefore suggest 50.

<sup>14</sup> This is a mere guess for the three Ligurian triumphs mentioned

Reduced to denarii = the very small amount:

.....2,200,000 denarii.  
The sum total of all these items of gold and silver brought back by conquerors in the form of booty and including apparently the returns of the silver mines in Spain is therefore about .....100,000,000 denarii.

d. The vectigal. This was not large before the confiscations of the Punic War in Campania and the south. The grain of Sicily and Sardinia—about 1,000,000 bushels—was quite regularly sent to the armies and I shall therefore reckon it separately, since it probably was not included in the estimates of annual treasury income used for public improvements. The five per cent port-dues at a time when Rome's shipping consisted largely in military supplies probably paid little above the cost of collection. The half-tithe of Spain must have been small when wars in Spain were continuous and a relatively small portion of the peninsula subdued. The proceeds of the mines in Spain were considerable, but were apparently carried home by the generals and deposited in the treasury together with the booty. They seem to have been reckoned in the governors' accounts rather than in the regular accounts of annual revenue. The rentals of the Campanian lands and the decumae on the other public lands in the South would have been considerable, if properly collected, but they were poorly guarded, and in 162 the praetor had to reclaim at heavy cost some 50,000 jugera that had fallen into private hands (Granius Lic. p. 9, Fl.). Since Caesar's Campanian colony later numbered 20,000 men (Suet., *Jul.*, 20) and he allotted ten jugera to each man, the rented part of Campania was over 200,000 jugera. This would yield about two million bushels of wheat, a third of which probably fell to the state as rental. If wheat sold at three denarii the bushel, this would amount annually to two million denarii. But, as we have seen, these rentals were badly neglected.

We have no way of estimating the tithes on the other public lands or the port-charges, but, since the Campanian rentals were considered the most important item of Rome's income, the rest could not have been much. We may approach the question from

in the *Fasti Triumphales* under 166 and 158. It is doubtless a liberal allowance.

another angle. In 179 the vectigal for one year (exclusive of provincial grain and metal, I think) was used by the censors in public buildings of which we know something: the piers for the Aemilian bridge, the Aemilian Basilica (a modest structure, as the oldest remains prove), the plastering of the Jupiter temple, three short porticoes, a market-place, and some sewers were paid for out of the year's vectigal. Again in 169 the Sempronian Basilica was paid for from one-fourth of the year's vectigal. Taking all these rather indefinite facts together, I should suppose that 4,000,000 denarii the year would be a liberal estimate of the year's return. For the forty-three years between 200 and 157; about 150,000,000 denarii might then be somewhat near the regular returns of the vectigal.<sup>15</sup> And to this we must add the Macedonian vectigal of 100 talents a year between 166 and 157 = about 5,500,000.

e. The tithe.

From Sicily and Sardinia Rome drew a tithe in kind, which I have not included in the vectigalia of the treasury from which the censors assigned moneys for public buildings, for the reason that the grain was usually shipped directly to the armies. We must, however, reckon in this grain among state receipts, since the state used some of it in part payment for soldiers' stipends and to meet its obligations to the allied troops. Frequently the state asked for a second tithe, but for this it doubtless paid in cash as Cicero informs us was true in the Verrine period.

The Sicilian tithe in grain came to about 750,000 bushels (Cic. *Verr.* II, 3, 163) in the Verrine period when agriculture had been developed to the highest point. Since Sardinia was a

<sup>15</sup> The first definite figure that we have for the vectigal is that given by Plutarch, *Pompey*, 45, which places the whole annual return in 62 B. C. at about 50,000,000 denarii. The Campanian lands were then giving good returns, but most of the rest of the public land had been appropriated for colonization by the Gracchi. The port dues had increased very much, had probably been quadrupled. Asia, with its revenue of about 10,000,000 had been added, Spain had been pacified and produced well, Africa, with its public land, had been added, also Narbonese Gaul, Macedonia, with its mines, and Cilicia. Since these items alone would account for the most of the 50,000,000, our assumption of 4,000,000 for the early second century seems in general to be confirmed.



rough land and in a state of turmoil most of this period, we may perhaps assume that the combined yield of the two islands for our period may have been about one million bushels. At three denarii the bushel this would be worth for the forty-three years about .....130,000,000 denarii.

To sum up our estimates of income for the forty-three years in question, we have:

Citizen tribute up to 167,	about 60,000,000 denarii
Tithe of Sicily and Sardinia,	about 130,000,000 denarii
Vectigalia,	about 155,500,000 denarii
Gold and silver from mines and booty,	about 100,000,000 denarii
War indemnities	about 152,100,000 denarii

Total	597,600,000 denarii
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However, according to Pliny, *N. H.*, 33, 55, the treasury had in its vaults in 157 B. C. 17,410 pounds of gold, 22,070 pounds of silver, and 6,135,400 denarii in coined silver, or all told the equivalent of.....about 25,300,000 denarii. Furthermore in 187 the treasury had repaid old supertaxes to the extent of about 22,500,000 denarii (Livy 39, 7, 5). Hence, assuming an empty treasury in 201, the state spent in running expenses during the forty-three years, about.....550,000,000 denarii, or an average of nearly thirteen million denarii (say a little over two million dollars) the year.

#### EXPENDITURES:

##### a. Army.

The chief expense of the state during this period of severe warfare was for the army and navy. Common citizen soldiers received 120 denarii the year out of which they paid for their rations, the sixty centurions of each legion twice as much, and the cavalry three times as much. Soldiers of the allied contingents received about twelve bushels of wheat per year from the state treasury. At the beginning of this period each legion contained about 4,200 infantry and 300 horsemen. The number soon increased to 5,200 + 300, certainly before 182 (Livy 40, 1), probably in 192, when the allied contingents were enlarged. During the war with Perseus the legion had 6,000 infantry and

300 cavalry. The allies provided at least 5,000 men for each legion at first, but in preparation for the war with Antiochus, we find that 7,500 infantry and 400 cavalry of the *socii* are usually assigned to each legion.

Though Livy provides very useful lists of the annual assignments of troops, he often contents himself with a statement of how many men were recruited to take the place of the dead or the discharged veterans. Hence exact statistics cannot be given. However, since we know the approximate strength of the legions and usually know how many legions are stationed in each province during the period, even if we have no evidence for the specific year, we are justified in attempting to estimate the military forces of Rome for the period. But though I think the totals given here are nearly correct, I must insist that the specific number hazarded for several of the years is merely my estimate from the data given about the recruiting, the movements of troops, and from casualties in battle.

<i>Year</i>		<i>Legions</i>	<i>Citizens</i>	<i>Allies</i>	<i>Total</i>
200 B. C.	(Livy 31, 8; cf. 30, 41, 5)	7 legions	31,500	56,300	87,800
199	(Livy 32, 1; 8)	5 legions	22,500	45,000	67,500
198	(Livy 32, 8; 26)	7 legions	31,500	57,000	88,500
197	(Livy 32, 28; 33, 4)	7 legions	31,500	57,000	88,500
196	(Livy 33, 25-26)	10 legions	45,000	62,000	107,000
195	(Livy 33, 43; 34, 8)	9 legions	44,000	57,000	101,000
194	(Livy 34, 43; 46; 52; 56)	8 legions	40,000	50,000	90,000
193	(Livy 34, 55-6; 35, 4)	8 legions	40,000	51,000	91,000
192	(Livy 35, 20-21; cf. 36, 2)	10 legions	50,000	80,000	130,000
191	(Livy 36, 1; cf. 35, 41)	10 legions	50,000	80,000	130,000
190	(Livy 37, 2)	12 legions	60,000	90,000	150,000
189	(Livy 37, 50)	12 legions	60,000	85,000	145,000
188	(Livy 38, 35)	12 legions	60,000	85,000	145,000
187	(Livy 38, 42; 39, 2)	9 legions	45,000	60,000	105,000
186	(Livy 39, 8; 20)	8 legions	40,000	60,000	100,000
185	(Livy 39, 23)	c. 8 legions	40,000	60,000	100,000
184	(Livy 39, 38)	c. 8 legions	40,000	60,000	100,000
183	(Livy 39, 45)	c. 8 legions	40,000	60,000	100,000
182	(Livy 40, 1)	c. 8 legions	44,000	65,000	109,000
181	(Livy 40, 18)	c. 8 legions	44,000	65,000	109,000
180	(Livy 40, 36)	8 legions	44,000	60,000	104,000
179	(Livy 40, 44)	8 legions	44,000	60,000	104,000
178	(Livy 41, 1-5)	8 legions	44,000	60,000	104,000
177	(Livy 41, 9)	10 legions	55,000	63,000	118,000
176	(Livy 41, 14-17)	c. 10 legions	55,000	63,000	118,000

	<i>Legions</i>	<i>Citizens</i>	<i>Allies</i>	<i>Total</i>
(Livy 41, 21)	9 legions	47,000	60,000	107,000
(Lacuna)	c. 8 legions	42,000	60,000	102,000
(Livy 42, 1)	c. 8 legions	44,000	56,000	100,000
(Livy 42, 10)	c. 8 legions	44,000	56,000	100,000
(Livy 42, 27; 31; 35; 36)	c. 10 legions	54,000	68,000	122,000
(Lacuna)	c. 10 legions	50,000	65,000	115,000
(Livy 43, 12; 15)	c. 10 legions	50,000	65,000	115,000
(Livy 44, 21)	c. 10 legions	50,000	65,000	115,000
(Livy 45, 16)	c. 10 legions	50,000	65,000	115,000
1-57	about 8 legions each year			

Livy's extant books end with the year 167, but we may judge from what we know of military activities during the next nine years (to 157) that the average number of legions was then about eight, with probably about 5,000 legionaries and 6,000 allies in each. The average for the 43 years will therefore be about 47,250 citizens and 62,100 allies per year. The state, therefore, seems to have paid out in cash to the citizen soldiers from 201 to 157 about.....300,000,000 denarii.

b. The *allied troops* were more numerous as the lists show, but they received only their food as a rule, that is, a bushel of wheat per month, and wheat was probably worth about three denarii the bushel. However in the Spanish and Gallic campaigns much wheat was brought in by foragers. In the campaigns in Greece and the east (except in 189) foraging was seldom possible.<sup>18</sup> Assuming that two-thirds of the wheat was procured by purchase or from the provincial tithes, the cost of supplying the allies would be about.....64,000,000 denarii.

c. The cost of the navy is also difficult to estimate. At the end of the Punic War Rome had a good fleet of about 200 quin-

<sup>18</sup> See Livy 37, 27, Rome sends grain to its fleet at Chios; 37, 50, the double tithes of grain of Sicily and Sardinia are sent to the armies in Asia and Aetolia; 40, 35, since there was peace in Spain, the state did not have to send any grain there that year; 42, 1, Rome regularly supplied the needs of magistrates so that they should not be tempted to make requisitions on allies; 42, 27, Rome buying grain in Apulia; 42, 31, the tithes are sent to the armies; 44, 16, Rome paid the Epirotes for grain and engaged contractors to provide clothing for the army. Instances of gifts from allies and of requisitions upon the enemy are: Livy 37, 9; 37, 28; 42, 31; 43, 6.

queremes.<sup>17</sup> Many of these were old, but, since Philip was strong on the seas while Rhodes and Attalus had respectable fleets, Rome needed only to fit out old vessels for the Macedonia war. Twenty ships were sent out at once (Livy 31, 14, 3, and 22, 5). Later we hear of a fleet of about seventy ships, partly allied, at Gythium (Livy 34, 26, 11). Probably not over 100 Roman quinqueremes were on the water between 200 and 191. The Greeks of South Italy, the *socii navales*, provided very few of these, at most twelve of the quinqueremes, at times less (Livy 26, 39; 36, 4, and 42; 42, 48).

In the war against Antiochus (192-188) Rome had a fleet of about 150 quinqueremes, some 50 of which were newly built (Livy 35, 20, 12; 21, 1; 24, 8; 36, 2, 15). After this war most of the fleet was laid up, but in the years 181-178 we hear of 20 ships in service (Livy 40, 18). In the war with Perseus a new fleet of about 100 quinqueremes had to be built, since many of the old ships were unserviceable (Livy 42, 27, 1; 31, 7; 43, 12, 8). The whole fleet consisted apparently of about 150 ships. During this period it was customary to use Roman *liberti* and allied levies for the fleet (Livy 36, 2, 15; 40, 18; 42, 27; 42, 31, 43, 12). Perhaps most of these received only food and equipment, not pay. But the number of men required was large, as in the First Punic War, each ship required 300 rowers and 120 marines (Pol. I, 26).

We have no statement available for the cost of building new ships, but, since the Athenians<sup>18</sup> during the fourth century estimated a trireme at about a talent and a half, perhaps 15,000 denarii would be a fair estimate for a Roman quinquereme during the early second century. The cost might therefore be estimated about as follows:

Cost of 150 new ships.....	(?)	2,300,000 denarii
Repairs of old.....	(?)	1,200,000 denarii
Food for crews and marines..	(?)	30,000,000 denarii
		<hr/>
		(?) 33,500,000 denarii

<sup>17</sup> See Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1907, 58.

<sup>18</sup> Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, 1220. In the fourth century the hull of the trireme cost about a talent and its fittings about half as much. Oars for the trireme cost about 3 drachmas each at Athens; the Roman quinquereme required over 300 oars. Various other prices in

d. We have very little evidence regarding the expensive transport service. In the First Punic War, when Rome kept an active fleet of about 200 quinqueremes on the sea and had to carry provisions and men to the fleet and to the four legions operating in Sicily, there were at least 800 transports at one time (Pol. I, 2, 6), that is, about four times as many vessels as in the navy. We do not know how large these boats were, but they had to be able to weather such storms as might arise on journeys between Rome and Lilybaeum. The smallest would certainly carry more than 300 amphorae (225 bushels, the upper limit of a senator's riverboat) while the larger might reach the standard size of merchant vessels—400 tons. During the years 200 to 188, when transport service had to be kept for the armies and navies operating in and about Macedonia and Greece, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, we can hardly reckon on a smaller fleet of transports than that mentioned in Polybius for the First Punic War. Thereafter it was, of course, reduced in size, though hardly as much as the war fleet, since service to Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia continued. In 172-167 the transport arm was again called upon for very heavy work. I shall venture to estimate the cost of the transport fleet serving both the armies and the navies (and remaining in more continuous service than the navy) at nearly the cost of the navy, i. e. . . . . (?) 30,000,000 denarii.

e. Then we must set aside an amount for public buildings.<sup>19</sup> Here again we have but few items. For the year 179 (Livy 40, 6, 16) we know that the censors used the vectigalia of one year, which we have estimated at about four million denarii, but this was a year of unusual building activity; ten years later the amount appropriated for the purpose was half the vectigalia (Livy 44, 16), and this was doubtless a more normal proportion. If we assume two million denarii for each of eight censorial lustra and add to this the 6,000,000 denarii spent at one time—

Greece are: a mast, 37 drachmas; 2 rudders, 25 drachmas; the bracing-ropes, 478 drachmas.

<sup>19</sup> In northern Italy there was extensive road-building during this period, but it is probable that the army did this work (Livy 38, 2). The Signatian road, leading from the Adriatic through Macedonia, was probably begun in this period and, since no army was stationed in Macedonia then, the state probably paid for it out of the vectigal. But I assume that the contracts were paid for after 157.

apparently in Cato's censorship<sup>20</sup>—in reconstructing the outworn sewage system, we get for public buildings a sum of about.....22,000,000 denarii

f. We have left an estimated sum of about a hundred million denarii (or nearly two and a half million denarii the year) out of which to cover all general expenses for which we have very meager data. Out of this would have come, during forty-three years, the expenses for the generals' staffs in the field, for extra arms and clothing that would be supplied the troops at time of stress, some appropriations for games and plays, gifts and provisions to foreign envoys—not expensive, but frequently given—and the expense accounts of commissions frequently sent to Greece and Carthage. I do not believe that the estimated sum is too large for these varied items.

This attempt at bookkeeping is obviously far from satisfactory, but it is something to get a general conception of Rome's budgetary scale. Even if we recognize that with fuller information the sums might have to be doubled or halved, that would not essentially alter our conception of Rome's financial status. Thirty years ago we had a billion-dollar budget. We soon doubled it, but our financial position among nations was not altered much thereby. Despite the uncertainties we know at least that during the years that Rome was conquering Philip, Antiochus, Spain, and the Po Valley, her average budget ran not far from two million dollars the year, an amount that we now associate with very small cities or with state universities of our middle west. That knowledge helps us somewhat to comprehend how insignificant finances were in comparison with human energy in Cato's day.

The account, at any rate, looks something like this for the forty-three years of 200-157 B. C.:

<sup>20</sup> There was extensive sewer-building during Cato's censorship, and, since the repairs costing a thousand talents were mentioned in the early history of Acilius (Dionysius 3, 67), it is usual to assume that the reference is to Cato's activities.

<i>Income</i>		<i>Outlay</i>	
Citizen taxation	60,000,000	Soldiers' pay	300,000,000
Vectigalia	155,500,000	Allies' food	64,000,000
Provincial tithes	130,000,000	Navy	33,500,000
Indemnities	152,100,000	Transport	30,000,000
Booty and mines	100,000,000	Public bldgs.	22,000,000
	<hr/>	General	100,500,000
	597,600,000		
Arrears paid, and reserves	47,600,000		
	<hr/>		
Total about	550,000,000		550,000,000

The average annual expense was about 13,000,000 denarii in present gold values somewhat over two million dollars.

It is apparent from these figures that the state, which had had no access to silver mines and had therefore depended upon bronze coinage longer than most nations of the time, now gained possession of rather large amounts of gold and silver. It is interesting to note also that so large a proportion of the metal—early a tenth of what had been acquired—actually lay in the vaults unused in 157. Apparently the state had more than it was thought necessary to put into circulation. We are never told on what principle the mint masters acted in issuing coins. It is certain from the state of the treasury in 157 that they did not issue all the bullion available. Probably there never was any attempt to keep the system flexible or to adapt the issues to the needs of business. It is only at very critical times—as, for instance, when Hannibal approached Rome in 217 B. C.—that the mint seems to have responded deliberately to pressing needs for currency. We may assume, I think, that the state usually coined just enough of its store to keep somewhat ahead of its war expenditures, though we may also assume that it was ready to let extra contracts for public improvements when the treasury had large reserves. But we have no reason to suppose that it made any special efforts to consider the state of business or of prices. At this time at least the business world, such as it was, had apparently to make the best of whatever amounts were put into circulation through treasury payments to troops and to contractors. Another significant fact is that, while the treasury had taken in over 38,000 pounds of gold in booty and probably some amounts of gold in the eastern indemnities, it had in 157

less than half of this left, though it had not in the meantime coined any gold. It is quite likely, therefore, that the treasury sold some of its gold in the market for silver which it could use at the mint. Such sales probably took place at Rome to supply jewellers with the precious metal they needed, just as it must have sold the wax that came from Corsica by way of tribute.

It would be interesting to know how much money was actually in circulation at this time, but, though we can in a general way estimate how much was issued during this period, we have scanty evidence for what currency circulated at the beginning. Before the Second Punic War Rome had little silver and was constantly in financial straits. During the latter half of that war several sums came in. The capture of Capua<sup>21</sup> provided 2,070 pounds of gold, 31,200 pounds of silver; New Carthage 276 pounds of gold and 18,300 pounds of silver; the victory at the Metaurus some 300 talents of silver; Tarentine booty amounted to 3,000 talents, but the sale of captives would account for about a half of this; we have not the figures for Syracuse, but the booty taken there was fully as much, and finally Scipio brought home from Africa 2,400 pounds of gold and 44,000 pounds of silver. In other words the treasury received at least some 50,000,000 denarii worth of silver and gold which we may be sure was put into immediate circulation since the treasury was still in debt at the end. This is not a large amount, but we may at least reckon that it afforded a circulation of about 50 denarii per person. Of course, much of this was paid to soldiers serving abroad, and it did not all come back to Rome.

During the years 200 to 157 we have seen that the indemnities, the booty, and the mines brought in from abroad at least some 250,000,000 denarii worth of new precious metals. Since thirty-eight million of the booty was in the form of gold, and permission was at times given to pay a third of the indemnities in the same metal, we may assume that about fifty million were in the metal not used for coinage. Deducting also the silver in the treasury in 157, we may reckon that in addition to the currency of 200 B. C. about 180,000,000 denarii were put into

<sup>21</sup> The passages are: Capua, Livy 26, 14, 8; New Carthage, Livy 26, 47, 7, and Polybius 10, 19; Metaurus, Polybius 11, 3; Tarentum, Plutarch, *Fab.* 22, and Livy 27, 16, 7; Africa, Livy 31, 20.



circulation during this period from newly acquired silver. Since the census of adult male citizens in 153 was 324,000, the whole population was about one and one quarter million souls. Hence, without taking cognizance of soldiers' expenditures abroad or of wastage, we would have in currency about 180 denarii (about \$30) per person that had been put into circulation in sixty years. Naturally much of it was no longer current at Rome. Our own circulation today is about \$50 per person in currency, but, of course, Rome had no developed credit system to eke out the currency, and the Roman custom of keeping the silver at home in the strong-box for safe keeping did not make for fluidity.

Beside the metals that flowed to the treasury of Rome, not a little came by way of soldiers' booty. The amount of it is so seldom given that historians vary widely in estimating the possible sum of it. We can, however, set down some significant facts regarding it. In the first place, we know from Polybius that army discipline was still very strict; we also know that till about 171 there are few accusations of irregular looting, that the soldiers were not allowed to take plunder except in towns that had resisted till they had been taken by storm, and that then the soldiers were compelled to bring their finds to a common collection which was disposed of by the quaestor who set apart the state's portion before a division was made between officers and men (see *Pol.* 10, 16). Usually the soldiers' portion was distributed by the general after the triumph in the form of an extra. It sometimes amounted to only a dollar or two. Only once, in the campaign against Antiochus, did it approach a hundred dollars per man and that was a campaign that was long remembered. In fact Livy says that recruiting for the war against Perseus was easy because in the last eastern wars the soldiers had come back enriched (*Livy* 42, 32, 6). What he means by this we can discover, I think. The soldiers of the last eastern war had won the battle of Thermopylae under Acilius in 190 and the battle of Magnesia under Scipio in 189, after which they were given two extra stipendia (240 denarii) plus a donative of 25 denarii. Then in 188 the generous Manlius Vulso had led them against the Galati, for which campaign they received an extra stipend of 120 denarii and a bonus of 42 denarii. That is, the survivors of four severe battles came back with extras amounting to 427 denarii, which in that day was

probably enough to buy two or three acres of good land—and that to them was wealth. Besides, centurions received twice as much and knights three times the amount.

At times there were also extras given on the field when a general allowed the soldiers to allot booty and sell it without placing it in the hands of the quaestor (Pol. 14. 7, seems to be a case in point). But instances of this seem to be rare. In general it must be said that the villages stormed in the west were small and poor—Schulten's recent description of Numantia gives surprising evidence of that—and that during the campaigns in Greece, after Rome had ostentatiously proclaimed that it was fighting for the freedom of the Greeks, the razing of cities was generally prevented by the generals, at least before the war with Perseus. I have compiled from Livy a list of the soldiers' bonuses that the generals distributed. But it is difficult to say how many soldiers participated in each distribution. At times the bonus may have been given only to the veterans who walked in the triumph. This, at least, is the implication of Livy 36, 40, 13: *qui currum secuti*. Since Spain was very far away, it was usual to permit only discharged veterans to return with the general. On the other hand, Acilius gave a donative to his troops though he had turned over his army to L. Scipio, and Scipio did the same though his army went to Manlius. I have assumed in making my estimates that the procedure of Acilius and Scipio was the normal one. My figures therefore are rather too large than too small. I am also assuming that, when asses are mentioned, the old army custom of considering ten asses as the equivalent of a denarius still held. In this list, the centurions regularly receive twice as much and the equites three times as much as the common soldier, and the allies as much as the citizens, unless it is otherwise stated.

200 B. C. (Livy 31, 20, 7)		militibus ex praeda 120 asses.	
		Gaul	70 asses each
197	(Livy 33, 23, 7)	Gaul	70 asses each
197	(Livy 33, 23, 9)	Spain	70 asses
196	(Livy 33, 37, 12)	Gaul	80 asses
194	(Livy 34, 46, 3)	Cato	270 asses
194	(Livy 34, 52, 11)	Macedonia	250 asses
191	(Livy 36, 40, 13)	Gaul	125 asses
189	(Livy 37, 59, 6)	Antiochus	25 denarii + 2 stipends.
187	(Livy 39, 5, 17)	Aetolia	25 denarii

187	(Livy 39, 7, 2)	Galatia	42 denarii + 1 stipend.
180	(Livy 40, 43, 7)	Spain	50 denarii + 1 stipend.
179	(Livy 40, 59)	Liguri	300 asses
178	(Livy 41, 7)	Spain	25 denarii
178	(Livy 41, 7)	Spain	25 denarii
177	(Livy 41, 13, 7)	Istri	15 denarii (socii only half as much)
168	(Livy 45, 34, 5)	Epirus	200 denarii. equites 400 out of booty of Epirus.
167	(Livy 45, 40)	Perseus	100 denarii
167	(Livy 45, 43)	Navy	45 denarii to socii navales
167	(Livy 45, 43)	Illyria	45 denarii

Livy's account of the triumph over the Sardinians has been lost in the lacuna of the forty-first book.

The amount of booty and extra stipends given in this list amounts to about 18,000,000 denarii, on the best calculation that I can hazard regarding the numbers participating.

In addition to these soldiers' bonuses we ought, of course, to reckon the officers' shares of the booty that came to Rome. In the days of Caesar these shares were very large. Caesar enriched himself in Spain and Gaul, and his chief officers, like Labienus and Mamurra, also became wealthy. It is therefore common to assume that the officers' shares were very large in Cato's day as well. But we have no proof of this. The men who handled the largest amount of booty at this time were men like Flamininus, the Scipios, Cato, Sempronius Gracchus the elder, and Aemilius Paullus, and these men died relatively poor. To be sure, the war with Perseus ended with charges of peculation. Licinius Crassus and Lucretius who served in Macedonia in 171 were apparently dishonest, and three of the generals serving in Spain about the same time gained an ugly reputation, but we are still far from the day of Sulla and Verres. In general we may say that the proconsular share was still moderate, and that it was spent largely on some religious or public monument vowed in the prayer for victory before or during the battle.

I owe to Pais (*Fasti Triump.* 497 ff.) the following list of temples vowed by generals of this period, and presumably paid for out of manubiae: Vejovis on the island vowed by Furius in the Gallic war; Juno Sospita, by Cethegus in Gaul; shrine of Victoria Virgo, on the Palatine, by Cato in Spain; Vejovis on

the Arx, by Marcius Ralla in Gaul; Pietas in the Forum Holitorium, by Acilius, in Greece; Hercules Musarum, by Nobilior in Aetolia; Venus Erucina, at Porta Collina by L. Porcius in Gaul; Juno Regina and also Diana near the Flaminian Circus, by Lepidus in Liguria; Lares Permarini in the Campus by Regillus while commanding the fleet of the Aegean; Fortuna Equestris by Fulvius Flaccus in Spain. Here are some ten temples of moderate size. (Lares is probably temple *C* of the Argentina group, Juno Sospita probably the middle temple under S. Nicola in Carcere.) All the buildings of this period were inexpensively constructed with native tufa that was plastered and ornamented with stucco. I doubt not that the whole ten were built for less than 5,000,000 denarii. Most of these sums received by officers and men were brought to Rome and expended there, and should therefore be considered in estimating the amounts of silver imported. It might be fair to reckon that such booty, distributed to officers and soldiers, might suffice to offset the amounts that the soldiers spent out of their stipends in foreign lands.

This was a period, as we see, in which the treasury found its metals for coinage chiefly in indemnities and booty. In the next period of fifty years metals were largely secured by developing the mines of Spain, Cisalpine Gaul, Noricum, and Macedonia. Thereafter the treasury depended more and more on the returns from provincial vectigalia. But the important thing is to remember how trifling were in fact the amounts that the treasury handled. In Cato's day the annual budget was about two million dollars the year; a hundred years later it was still only about ten million.

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## DIE QUELLEN FÜR DAS SPÄTRÖMISCHE HEERWESEN.

[Hauptquelle für unsere Kenntnis des spätrömischen Heerwesens ist die Notitia dignitatum; hiezu kommen noch einzelne kleinere, als Ergänzung und zum Vergleich aber überaus wichtige Belege. Um alle diese Quellen voll auswerten zu können, ist eine eingehende Textkritik erforderlich, die in den folgenden Ausführungen erstmalig in solchem Umfang versucht wird.]

### 1. DIE ZEITGENÖSSISCHE LITERATUR IM ALLGEMEINEN.

#### *Cassius Dio.*

Wenn wir die Reihe der Verzeichnisse und sonstigen Aufzeichnungen überblicken, die uns über die römische Wehrmacht der Kaiserzeit erhalten sind, so zeigt sich für den ersten Augenblick eine erfreuliche Menge. Wir sehen teils vollständige teils unvollständige Verzeichnisse der Legionen und neben einer ganz stattlichen Anzahl von Textstellen, die auf einzelne Truppenkörper Bezug nehmen, eine schier überwältigende Fülle von Inschriften. Sobald wir jedoch einen bestimmten Zeitabschnitt ins Auge fassen, reduziert sich die Zahl der Quellen schon ganz beträchtlich—sind sie doch auf einen Zeitraum von mehreren Jahrhunderten verteilt—und je mehr wir uns dem Ausgange der Kaiserzeit nähern, desto mehr verschlechtert sich das Bild. Für den Beginn des 4. Jahrhunderts versagen unsere Hilfsmittel sogar fast gänzlich und wir sind gezwungen, auf der Suche nach einem Truppenverzeichnis ziemlich weit in das 3. Jahrhundert zurückzugehen. Das erste, das uns hier begegnet, ist uns von Cassius Dio (LV 23; 24) überliefert, der unter Severus Alexander (222–235) seine *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία* schrieb. Dio zählt 32 Legionen auf und gibt überdies auch noch knappe Daten über die Praetoriani und Urbaniciani, ferner über die germanischen Gardereiter und die Hilfstruppen. Das Legionsverzeichnis ist teilweise verstümmelt überliefert; eigentliche Fehler kommen darinnen jedoch nicht vor. Die beste Ergänzung geben zwei Inschriften, die sogenannten vatikanischen Säulen. Durch den Vergleich mit ihnen sehen wir, daß das Verzeichnis Dios folgendermaßen zu ergänzen ist: Statt der legio XX in Germania inferior muß gesetzt werden XX[II Primigenia]; bei der hispanischen legio VII ist das Wort "gemina" beizufügen. Was schließlich das Fehlen der legio XVI Flavia und die

Ansetzung der IV Flavia in Syrien statt in Moesia superior anbetrifft, so gehen beide Fehler auf eine gemeinsame Ursache zurück. Der Text lautet nämlich in der richtigen Fassung: τὸ τέταρτον τὸ [Φλαυίειον τὸ ἐν Μυσίᾳ τῇ ἄνω, τὸ τε ἑκαδέκατον τὸ] Φλαυίειον τὸ ἐν Συρίᾳ. Beim Abschreiben übersprang der Kopist die hier in Klammern gesetzten Worte, indem er von dem ersten "Φλαυίειον" gleich zum zweiten überging, so daß die dazwischen befindlichen Worte ausfielen.

Die vatikanischen Säulen.

Die in der *vatikanischen* Sammlung aufbewahrten zwei *Säulen*<sup>1</sup> enthalten die Namen von 33 römischen Kaiserlegionen. Die Herstellung des Originals—die beiden uns erhaltenen Exemplare sind nur Kopien—kann nicht vor dem Tode Traians (117), bezw. dem Anfange der Regierung Hadrians erfolgt sein, da die IX Hispana und XXII Deiotariana, die zu dieser Zeit vernichtet wurden und verschwinden, darauf nicht mehr enthalten sind. Anderseits kann aber das Original auch nicht jünger gewesen sein, als höchstens aus den ersten Jahren der Regierung des Marcus Aurelius (164-180), da die II und III Italica, die damals errichtet wurden, nicht mehr in der Reihenfolge erscheinen, sondern—wie die 3 parthischen Legionen des Septimius Severus—erst später nachgetragen wurden. Die Entstehungszeit des Originals wird somit in die Jahre 117 bis 167 zu setzen sein.

Der Text der vatikanischen Säulen lautet:

II AUG	II ADIUT	III SCYTH
VI VICT	III FLAV	XVI FLAV
XX VICT	VII CLAUD	VI FERRA
VIII AUG	I ITALIC	X FRETE
XXII PRIM	V MACED	III CYREN
I MINER	XI CLAUD	II TRAIAN
XXX ULP	XIII GEM	III AUG
I ADIUT	XII FULM	VII GEM
X GEM	XV APOL	II ITALIC
XIII GEM	III GALLIC	III ITALIC
I PARTH	II PARTH	III PARTH

Die Aufzählung der Legionen—jede Kolonne ist für sich zu

<sup>1</sup> CIL. VI 3492a.b. Vgl. Orelli, Inscript. lat. sel. 3368 u. 3369. Dieser erwähnt daß eine der beiden Kopien durch ein Versehen des Arbeiters unvollständig sei, indem die Zeile: X GEM XV APOL II ITALIC

lesen—beginnt mit Britannien, geht über Germanien und die Donauprovinzen in den Orient, von dort über Aegypten nach Afrika und endet mit der VII gemina in Hispanien. Die II und III Italica, ferner die I, II und III Parthica sind später nachgetragen, daher außerhalb der Reihenfolge.

*Itinerarium Antonini.*

Einige Daten über Truppenkörper enthält auch, in Form von späteren Randnotizen, das *Itinerarium Antonini*:

132, 4 Margo	249, 1 Laudiao leg. III. <sup>5</sup>
133, 1 et leg. VIII. <sup>2</sup>	254, 5 Durnomago ala.
2 inde Viminacio.	255, 1 Burungo ala.
183, 5 Satala leg. XV Apollinaris.	2 Novesio ala.
186, 6 Samosata leg. VII. <sup>3</sup>	3 Gelduba ala.
219, 3 Ratiaria leg. XIII <sup>4</sup> gemina.	4 Calone ala.
220, 5 Oesco leg. V Mac.	5 Veteris ca-
221, 4 Novas leg. I Ital.	256, 1 stra leg. XXX Ulpia.
223, 4 Dorostoro leg. XI Cl.	2 Burginatio ala.
225, 2 Trosmis leg. I Jovia.	3 Harenatio ala.
226, 1 Novioduno leg. II Herculea.	387, 7 inde ad Galleciam ad leg.
241, 2 ad leg. XXX.	VII ge-
6 ad leg. XXX.	8 minam.
245, 7 Acinquo leg. II adiut.	395, 4 ad leg. VII geminam.
246, 4 Bregetione leg. I adiut.	466, 1 Eburacum leg. VI victrix.
247, 4 Carnunto leg. XIII <sup>4</sup> gemina.	469, 2 Deva leg. XX victrix.
248, 2 Vindobona leg. X gemina.	484, 4 Iscae leg. II Augusta.

Da sich unter den Legionen auch 2 von Diocletian errichtete, die I Jovia und II Herculea, befinden, müssen die Zusätze frühestens aus der diocletianischen Zeit stammen. Nachdem aber wieder nur diese zwei Legionen darin enthalten sind, die, nach Namen und Nummer zu schließen, zu den ältesten diocletianischen Legionen gehören, so weist man sie der fröhdiocletianischen Epoche zu.

*Ammianus Marcellinus.*

Von ungleich größerer Bedeutung als die vorgenannten spärlichen Angaben sind für die Kenntnis des römischen Heerwesens

entfallen ist. Sonst stimmen sie bis auf geringfügige Abweichungen vollkommen überein.

<sup>2</sup> Irrtümlich statt VII Cl(audia).

<sup>3</sup> Irrtümlich statt XVI.

<sup>4</sup> Irrtümlich statt XIII.

<sup>5</sup> Irrtümlich stat II I(talica).

des 4. Jahrhundert die Aufschlüsse, die uns die *rerum gestarum libri* des *Ammianus Marcellinus*<sup>a</sup> bieten. Kein Werk der antiken Literatur steht mit der *Notitia dignitatum* in einem so nahen Zusammenhange als diese Schrift. Abgesehen davon, daß gerade der uns erhaltene Teil derselben, Buch XIV bis XXXI, die Jahre 353 bis 378 in besonders ausführlicher Weise behandelt, ist die Ursache hiefür aber auch in der Person des Verfassers zu suchen. Dieser hatte nicht nur eine gute Erziehung genossen (XIX 8), er hatte auch als Offizier im römischen Heere gedient und war dem Stabe des *Magister Equitum per Orientem Ursicinus* zugeteilt gewesen, wodurch er Gelegenheit fand, große Teile des Reiches zu bereisen und persönlich an mehreren Feldzügen teilzunehmen. Alle diese Umstände—eigenes Erleben, vertrauter Verkehr mit dem tüchtigen General, dazu ein klarer Blick und ein unvoreingenommenes Urteil—tragen dazu bei, daß das Werk des Ammian inhaltlich weit über dem Großteil aller übrigen uns erhaltenen Erzeugnisse der römisch-griechischen Literatur der nachklassischen Zeit steht.

Diese Vorzüge lassen uns über manche kleine Schwächen des Verfassers nachsichtig urteilen und dies um so mehr, als der militärische Wert der Schrift dadurch keinerlei Einbuße erfährt. So wird Ammian durch seine große Zuneigung zu Ursicinus, der ihm nicht nur Vorgesetzter sondern auch väterlicher Freund gewesen zu sein scheint, mitunter gegen dessen persönliche Feinde, insbesondere gegen den verdienten und erprobten *Arbetio* (XIV 11; XV 2; XVI 8), ungerecht und urteilt zu streng über sie. Seine Verehrung für Kaiser Julian ist vollkommen echt und ungekünstelt; Ammian verfaßte sein Werk so viele Jahre nach dem Tode dieses Monarchen, daß an einen persönlichen Vorteil, den ihm das Lob bringen konnte, gar nicht zu denken ist. Er scheut sich übrigens auch nicht, seine Maßnahmen gegebenen Falles energisch zu tadeln (XX 3; XXI 12; XXV 4). Weniger erbaulich wirkt jedoch das übertriebene, dem jungen Theodosius (XXIX 6)—dem nachmaligen Kaiser—und seinem gleichnamigen Vater (XXVII 8; XXVIII 3) gespendete Lob. Da es aber auf die Glaubwürdigkeit des

<sup>a</sup> Ueber Ammian einiges bei: Müller, *Militaria aus Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Philologus* 64 (1905), S. 573 f.; vgl. auch Nischer in *Kromayer-Veith, Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft IV, 3, 2), S. 470 f.



Berichtes und die Verlässlichkeit der Darstellung keinen nachteiligen Einfluß ausübt, so mag dem Autor auch diese menschliche Schwäche verziehen sein.

### *Die Quellen Ammians.*

Der uns erhaltene Teil des Werkes Ammians umfaßt nur jene Zeit, die der Autor selbst erlebte und zwar in einem Alter und in einer Stellung, wo er in der Lage und auch fähig war, sich ein selbständiges Urteil zu bilden. Von vielen Ereignissen war er Augenzeuge, andere hat er von verlässlichen Zeugen erfahren; etwas Lager- und Kasernklatsch ist ihm freilich auch bisweilen in die Feder geraten, ohne daß dies aber für unsere Betrachtungen von nachteiligem Einfluß wäre. Man darf daher ruhig behaupten, daß Ammian so gute und verlässliche Quellen zu Gebote standen, wie nur wenigen Geschichtsschreibern, und daß er sie auch gut verwendet hat. Die Abfassung des Werkes fand, wie aus einer Bemerkung des Autors hervorgeht (XXXI 16), erst im reifen Alter statt, doch wird man wohl annehmen dürfen, daß er dazu Aufzeichnungen aus früheren Jahren benutzen konnte und nicht gezwungen war, alles aus dem Gedächtnisse niederzuschreiben.

### *Falsche Titel und Truppenbezeichnungen.*

Eine Schwäche des Werkes, die gerade bei einem dem Soldatenstande angehörenden Schriftsteller eigenartig anmutet, ist die geradezu unfassbare Nachlässigkeit und Ungenauigkeit im Gebrauche der militärischen Titel und der Truppenbezeichnungen; besonders befremdlich in einer Zeit, in der das Titelwesen eine solche Rolle spielte. Es bildet fast eine Ausnahme, wenn einmal ein General mit dem richtigen, ihm offiziell gebührenden Titel benannt wird. Daß er häufig die Generale ohne Rücksicht auf ihren Rang als Duces (Kommandanten) bezeichnet, mag noch hingehen, obwohl schließlich auch Dux damals eine bestimmte militärische Charge bedeutete, und es deshalb zu Mißverständnissen Anlaß geben kann, wenn ein Magister oder Comes plötzlich Dux genannt wird.<sup>7</sup> Rector wird bald für militärische, bald für zivile Funktionäre angewendet; regere setzt Ammian im Sinne von befehligen, anführen

<sup>7</sup> z. B. XVI 12; XVII 8; XXXI 5; 7.

u. ä.<sup>8</sup> Für Anführer wird auch der Ausdruck *Ductores* (XIV 2) gebraucht. Am schwierigsten gestaltet sich aber unsere Forschung dadurch, daß die *Magistri* in vielen Fällen als *Comites* erscheinen, und daß bei den eigentlichen *Comites* nur ausnahmsweise ihre genaue Einteilung—als *Comes Domesticorum*, *Comes Rei Militaris*, und im letzteren Falle, ob mit einer bestimmten, ständigen Aufgabe betraut oder zur Verfügung des Kaisers für besondere Verwendungen—angegeben wird.<sup>10a</sup> Worin die Ursache für diese Eigentümlichkeit gelegen ist, läßt sich schwer sagen; vielleicht ist es Sorglosigkeit, vielleicht auch das Bestreben, den Leser nicht durch häufige Wiederholung derselben Titulaturen zu ermüden.

Eine andere Eigenart ist, daß der jüngere von zwei Generalen oder Offizieren oft zuerst genannt wird, z. B. XXIII 3, wo erzählt wird, daß die Flottille von dem Tribunen Constantinus und dem *Comes Lucillianus* befehligt wurde. Eine besonders nachlässig abgefaßte Stelle ist XXI 13: *Arbetionem et Agilonem, pedestris equestrisque militiae magistros*. Jeder Leser wird wohl den *Arbetio* als *Magister Peditum*, den *Agilo* als *Magister Equitum* ansehen; tatsächlich verhält es sich aber gerade umgekehrt.

Bei der Bezeichnung der Truppenkörper herrscht eine ähnliche Nachlässigkeit. So erscheinen z. B. die uns aus der *Notitia dignitatum* als *Auxilia Palatina* bekannten *Jovii* und *victores* als Legionen (XXV 6; XXVII 8); ebenso sind in den *duodecim legiones* des Terentius (XXVII 12) gewiß eine beträchtliche Anzahl *Auxilia Palatina* und wahrscheinlich auch Reiterabteilungen inbegriffen. An anderer Stelle (XXVII 8) werden die *Auxilia Palatina* der *Batavi*, *Eruli*, *Jovii* und *victores* wieder Legionen und Cohorten<sup>10</sup> genannt. Unter dem Namen *cohors* finden wir mitunter auch Reiterabteilungen, so die *equites quartae sagittariorum cohortis*<sup>11</sup> (XXIX 5) und die *equestres cohortes* (XIV 2). Auch die Stelle: (*Julianus*) *reliquos ex ea cohorte . . . ad pedestrem compegit militiam* (XXIV 5), kann sich nur auf eine Reiterabteilung beziehen, da seit Constantin I keine aus Fußvolk und Reiterei zusammengesetzten Truppen-

<sup>8</sup> XXV 10; XXVII 4; 5 zweimal; 7; XXIX 4; XXX 5; XXXI 7.

<sup>9</sup> z. B. XXVII 11; XXX 2; XXXI 13.

<sup>10a</sup> Vgl. Nischer, *Hermes* LXIII, S. 430-456.

<sup>10</sup> *adscitaeque animosa legionum et cohortium pube*.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. *Occ.* VI 72 = VII 191 *equites quarto sagittarii*.

körper mehr bestanden.—An mehreren Stellen wird *cohortes* ganz allgemein für Truppenkörper, Abteilungen gesetzt (XXVII 2; XXX 10; XXXI 10), wobei unter diesem einen Namen Reiterregimenter, Legionen und Auxilia Palatina zusammengefaßt werden. Die Bezeichnung *numerus* erscheint wiederholt (so: XX 1; XXIV 4) in der damals üblichen Bedeutung für einen beliebigen Truppenkörper des Feldheeres.

#### *Archaismen.*

Als Archaismen müssen wir es entschieden betrachten, wenn in der Schlacht bei Argentoratum (357) von *antepilanis hastatisque et ordinum primis* gesprochen wird (XVI 12). Dasselbe gilt von der *cohors praetoria* des Constantius (358; XVII 13), womit irgend eine Abteilung der kaiserlichen Leibgarde gemeint ist. Auch die Bezeichnung *convocatis cohortibus et centuriis et manipulis* (XVIII 13) paßt nicht mehr in die nach-constantinische Epoche; mit dieser dichterischen Umschreibung soll das gesamte Heer bezeichnet werden. Die *praecursatores* (XVI 12) sind nicht ein Truppenkörper dieses Namens. Ammian versteht darunter die Vorhut, die Vortruppen.

#### *Zosimos. Claudian. Codex Theodosianus.*

Eine kleine, jedoch trotzdem nicht zu verachtende Ergänzung der aus Ammian geschöpften Kenntnisse gewinnen wir aus dem Geschichtswerke des *Zosimos*, während *Claudian* einen recht interessanten Überblick über das für den Krieg gegen Gildo (398) bestimmte Expeditionskorps gibt. Auch der *Codex Theodosianus* aus dem Jahre 438 enthält in seinen Gesetzen und Verordnungen manche Hinweise, die für uns nicht ohne Nutzen sind. Einzelne Stellen, die in der sonstigen zeitgenössischen Literatur verstreut sind und für unsere Forschung in Betracht kommen, werden fallweise besprochen werden.

#### *Notitia dignitatum.*

War alles, was uns bisher geboten wurde, nur Stückwerk, so ist uns am Schlusse der hier zu behandelnden Epoche ein Dokument erhalten, das in seiner Ausführlichkeit und Zuverlässigkeit so großartig erscheint, daß wir es uns kaum besser wünschen können. Es ist dies die *Notitia dignitatum*,<sup>12</sup> eine Zusammen-

<sup>12</sup> Soweit nicht besonders bemerkt, beziehen sich alle Angaben auf die Ausgabe von Seeck (Berlin 1876).

menstellung aller Militär- und Zivilämter, sowie der ganzen Heeresorganisation aus dem Beginn des 5. Jahrhunderts. Vergleichen wir das Legionsverzeichnis der Notitia dignitatum mit den beiden aus dem 3. Jahrhundert, so sehen wir einen gewaltigen Unterschied. Statt der 33 alten Kaiserlegionen enthält das Handbuch deren 190 und überdies lassen sich noch die Spuren einer ganzen Reihe weiterer Legionen verfolgen, die zum größten Teil zur Zeit der Abfassung nicht mehr bestanden haben, während ein kleinerer Bruchteil durch Unachtsamkeit beim Abschreiben des Werkes oder aus anderen Ursachen entfallen sein mag. Aber nicht nur in der Zahl der Legionen zeigt sich ein großer Wandel; auch in der Beschaffenheit, dem ganzen Wesen derselben ist ein völliger Umschwung eingetreten. Wohl finden wir die alten Grenzlegionen wieder, doch daneben besteht eine viel größere Anzahl von Legionen, die zum Unterschied von den als *legiones riparienses* (Or. XXXIX 28; XL 29) bezeichneten alten und neuen Grenzlegionen den Namen *legio palatina*, *comitatensis*, *pseudocomitatensis* tragen.

Den äußerlichen Wandel, den die alten Grenzlegionen in der Zeit von Cassius Dio bis zur Notitia dignitatum erfahren haben, zeigt die folgende Zusammenstellung.<sup>13</sup>

Cassius Dio:	Name der Legion:	Notitia dignitatum:
Britannia inferior....	VI victrix .....	Britannia, Occ. XL
superior....	II Augusta .....	litus Saxonicum per Britannias, Occ. XXVIII
	XX-Valeria victrix....	fehlt
Germania inferior....	I Minervia .....	fehlt
[inferior] .....	XXX Ulpia .....	fehlt
superior....	VIII Augusta .....	fehlt
	XX[II Primigenia] .....	fehlt
Raetia .....	III Italica .....	Raetia, Occ. XXXV
Noricum .....	II Italica .....	Noricum ripense, Occ. XXXIV
Pannonia superior....	X gemina	} ..... Pannonia I, Occ. XXXIV
	XIV gemina	
inferior....	I adiutrix	} ..... Valeria, Occ. XXXIII
	II adiutrix	
Dacia .....	V Macedonica	} ... Dacia ripensis, Or. XLII
	XIII gemina	
[Moesia superior]....	IV Flavia	} ..... Moesia I, Or. XLI
Moesia superior.....	VII Claudia	

<sup>13</sup> Die Klammern bezeichnen die Auslassungen bei Dio.

Cassius Dio:	Name der Legion:	Notitia dignitatum:
Moesia inferior.....	I Italica } XI Claudia }	Moesia II, Or. XL
Cappadocia .....	XII fulminata } XV Apollinaris }	Armenia, Or. XXXVIII
Syria .....	IV Scythica } [XVI Flavia] }	Syria, Or. XXXIII
Phoenicia .....	III Gallica .....	Foenice, Or. XXXII
Judaea .....	VI ferrata .....	fehlt
	X Fretensis .....	Palästina, Or. XXXIV
Mesopotamia .....	I Parthica .....	Mesopotamia, Or. XXXVI
	III Parthica .....	Osroena, Or. XXXV
Arabia .....	III Cyrenaica .....	Arabia, Or. XXXVII
Aegyptus .....	II Traiana .....	Thebais, Or. XXXI
Numidia .....	III Augusta .....	fehlt
Hispania .....	VII [gemina] .....	Hispania, Occ. XLII
Italia .....	II Parthica .....	Mesopotamia, Or. XXXVI.

Außer den Legionen überliefert uns der militärische Teil der Notitia dignitatum auch die Namen der Leibgarden und Hilfstuppen, der Flotten und Militärfabriken. Sie führt im Gegensatz zu anderen Verzeichnissen nicht nur die Namen—eventuell mit bloßem Zusatz der Provinz—an, sondern gibt uns die genaue organisatorische Einteilung, bei den Grenztruppen sogar die Standorte, und macht uns mit den Chargen und Titeln der Kommandanten, mit den ganzen Rangverhältnissen bekannt. Statt einer knappen Aufzählung, wie sie uns sonst vorliegen, haben wir hier ein Handbuch vor uns, das auf viele bisher unbeantwortete Fragen Auskunft gibt und aus dem sich durch intensives Eingehen noch viel mehr Kenntnisse schöpfen lassen, als man ohnedies schon auf den ersten Blick vermuten würde.

## 2. DIE NOTITIA DIGNITATUM.<sup>14</sup>

### a. Das Wesen der Notitia dignitatum.

#### *Der Verfasser der Notitia dignitatum.*

Die *Notitia dignitatum* ist unsere wichtigste Quelle für die Kenntnis des römischen Militärwesens des vierten Jahrhunderts.

<sup>14</sup> Der große Umfang des Stoffes, den wir aus unserer Hauptquelle, der Notitia dignitatum, gewinnen, bringt es mit sich, daß der Beschreibung derselben ein besonderer Abschnitt gewidmet werden muß, während

Zur Beurteilung der Verlässlichkeit dieser Quelle ist es notwendig, ihren Verfasser und ihr Alter festzustellen. Daß die *Notitia dignitatum* nicht als die Arbeit eines Kompilators anzusehen ist, sondern ein amtliches und zum Amtsgebrauche bestimmtes Dokument darstellt, wird von niemandem angezweifelt.<sup>15</sup> Strittig ist nur die Dienststelle, für welche sie bestimmt war. Bury<sup>16</sup> zieht aus der Stelle, *Occ. XVI 4 und 5 Sub cura viri spectabilis primicerii notariorum: Notitia omnium dignitatum et administrationum tam civilium quam militarium*, aus dem Umstande, daß sich beide Teile der *Notitia dignitatum* im Westen erhalten haben, sowie aus einigen textlichen Eigenheiten den Schluß, daß die *Notitia Occidentis* das Dienstexemplar des Primicerius des Westreiches, die *Notitia Orientis* aber eine ihm etwa im Jahre 426 zugesandte Kopie des Dienstexemplars des Primicerius des Ostreiches war.

Ich bin vollkommen überzeugt, daß diese Beamten, in deren Kanzleien die Ernennungsdekrete für alle höheren Beamten und Offiziere ausgefertigt wurden, hiefür einen Behelf, eben die *Notitia dignitatum*, haben mußten. Neben ihnen gab es aber viele Funktionäre, die das Handbuch für praktisch viel notwendigere Agenden benötigten, nämlich für den Verwaltungsdienst und für die Leitung des Heerwesens. Der Primicerius notariorum war Chef der kaiserlichen Kabinettskanzlei, mithin ein reiner Zivilbeamter. Trotzdem sich in der römischen Beamtschaft ein gewisser militärischer Zug nicht verkennen läßt, war die Scheidung zwischen Verwaltung und Kriegsdienst gerade in dieser Zeit noch immer sehr scharf; und wenn sogar in den Grenzprovinzen, wo eine einheitliche Leitung oft recht wünschenswert gewesen wäre, diese Trennung bestand, so muß dies für die Zentralstellen umsomehr gegolten haben. Schon die ganze Zusammensetzung des *Officium des Primicerius Notariorum*, das nur aus Adjunkten und Schreibern vom Stande der *Schola Notariorum* bestand, spricht gegen eine militärische Funktion ihres Leiters. Wenn eine Zivilperson Kriegsminister ist, muß sie unter allen Umständen militärische Berater und Refe-

die für uns in Betracht kommenden Stellen aller übrigen Quellen so wenig zahlreich sind, daß sie leicht in den Kapiteln, auf die sie Bezug haben, besprochen und kritisch betrachtet werden können.

<sup>15</sup> Bury, *The Notitia dignitatum*, S. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Bury, a. a. O. S. 1 u. a.

renten haben. Von solchen ist aber im vorliegenden Falle nirgends die Rede.

Die Erhaltung einiger Exemplare der *Notitia dignitatum* im Westen ist ohne Belang. Die ältesten dieser Abschriften stammen ja erst aus dem XV. Jahrhundert, so daß aus ihnen für den Ursprungsort des Originals gar keine Anhaltspunkte gewonnen werden können.

Vergleicht man die beiden Teile der *Notitia dignitatum*, so sieht man, daß die Nachträge, wie die Fehler in denselben sich so ziemlich die Wagschale halten, ja

a) das einzige Kapitel, welches, wie Seecks Ausgabe der *Notitia dignitatum* beweist, nicht wie andere im Laufe der Zeit verloren ging, sondern gänzlich fehlt und sich nicht in den Rahmen des Werkes einfügen läßt, ist gerade eines im Westreiche (*vicarius Italiae*).

b) Die Kapitel, die zweifellos verschiedenen Zeiten entstammen, gehören zur *Notitia Occidentis* (V + VI und VII).

c) Die britannischen Kapitel (*Occ. XXVIII, XL*), denen auch Bury (S. 152, 154) wenigstens teilweise eine frühere Entstehungszeit zugesteht, sind gleichfalls im Occident.

Aus den Ausführungen Burys (S. 133 ff., 136) geht hervor, daß die ältesten nachweisbaren, nicht mehr durchgehends (sowohl im Index wie in den einzelnen Listen) durchgeführten Veränderungen bis etwa in das Jahr 386 zurückreichen. Bei aller Würdigung der von Bury vorgebrachten Gründe erscheint mir doch unwahrscheinlich, daß diese Richtigstellung bis zum Jahre 426 (wo nach Bury der Austausch der Kopien zwischen den beiden Reichen stattfand) nicht erfolgt sein sollte—es handelt sich um einen Zeitraum von 40 Jahren!—und daß man überdies (S. 133, 153) ein derart mangelhaftes Dokument für die Absendung nach Rom einfach abgeschrieben habe. Wie stünde dies im Einklang mit der Sorgfalt, die man in Constantinopel für dieses Werk aufgewendet haben soll (S. 139)?

Betrachten wir jene späteren Nachtragungen, die nach 405 entstanden sein müssen, so sehen wir, daß bei den Truppen im Westreiche eine einzige Abteilung<sup>17</sup> unter diese Kategorie fällt, im Ostreiche vielleicht einige Theodosiani. Die Berichtigungen

<sup>17</sup> *Occ. VII 36 Placidi Valentinianici felices.*

bei den Zivilämtern verteilen sich ziemlich gleichmäßig auf beide Reichshälften und betreffen vielfach gemeinsame Maßregeln.

Was können wir nun daraus schließen? Placidus Valentianus stand vollkommen unter der Leitung des Theodosius II. Dieser hat den Codex zusammenstellen lassen, der für den Osten wie für den Westen Gültigkeit hatte. Was liegt näher, als daß er als Ergänzung dazu auch eine Zusammenstellung der *Notitia dignitatum* veranlaßte?<sup>18</sup> Dieses Werk war damals, wie uns die Heereslisten untrüglich zeigen, nicht mehr aktuell. Es hatte nur mehr einen historischen Wert. So konnte es vorkommen, daß man darin Listen aufnahm, die einer anderen Zeit angehörten als der Großteil des Werkes. Ob dies aus Unachtsamkeit geschah oder weil man keine anderen Listen für die betreffenden Provinzen fand?—Gerade die Eigenarten der beiden Teile der *Notitia dignitatum* sprechen dafür, daß diese letzte Zusammenfassung, die Schlußredaktion, im Osten stattfand. Hier hatte man ein komplettes Exemplar samt den Titelbildern (Or. XLV). Für das Westreich standen, entweder in Constantinopel vorhandene oder von Rom beigeordnete Listen, zur Verfügung und da nahm man, was man eben noch auftreiben konnte. In alle diese Verzeichnisse trug das mit der Zusammenstellung betraute Organ jene neueren Daten nach, die ihm bekannt waren, die aber natürlich keineswegs so zahlreich waren, daß sie das Bild des Reiches zu dieser Zeit (etwa 437/38) wiedergegeben hätten.

#### *Das Alter der Notitia dignitatum.*

Fragen wir nach dem Alter der *Notitia dignitatum*, so müssen wir wohl unterscheiden zwischen dem Alter der einzelnen Listen und der Schlußredaktion, da, wie schon Mommsen<sup>19</sup> erkannte, keineswegs alle Abschnitte aus derselben Zeit stammen, was besonders deutlich bei den britannischen Kapiteln (Occ. XXVIII, XL) zum Ausdruck kommt, von denen Mommsen<sup>20</sup> sagt, daß in ihnen "nicht eine sichere Spur nachdiocletianischer Abfassung zu finden ist, und die Vermutung immer mehr an Wahr-

<sup>18</sup> Vgl. Mommsen, Aetius (Hermes XXXVI, 1901, S. 516 f.), S. 544 f., wo die Schlußredaktion der *Notitia dignitatum* etwa in das Jahr 425 gesetzt wird.

<sup>19</sup> Eph. epigr. V (1884) S. 163.—Hermes XIX (1884) S. 231 f.—Hermes XXIV (1889) S. 204 Anm. 1; 214 Anm. 2; 257.—Vgl. Grosse, Militärgeschichte S. 28.

<sup>20</sup> Hermes XIX S. 233 f.



scheinlichkeit gewinnt, daß die beiden Abschnitte uns die militärischen Verhältnisse Britanniens nicht so darlegen, wie sie im Jahre 400, sondern vielmehr, wie sie um das 300 waren ”.

Bury (S. 146-153) versucht den Beweis zu führen, daß die britannischen Abschnitte den Stand des Jahres 428 darstellen und daß die Aufgabe der Insel durch die Römer vermutlich erst im Jahre 442 erfolgte, fügt jedoch bei (S. 152), daß der Wall vielleicht schon früher geräumt wurde und der betreffende Teil des Kapitels XL (32-56) durch ein Versehen stehen geblieben sei. Bezüglich der Besatzungstruppen lassen die oben erwähnten Ausführungen Mommsens keinen Zweifel für die Datierung etwa in das Jahr 300. Ich stimme in manchen anderen Fragen nicht mit Mommsen überein, ja sogar gerade hinsichtlich dieser Kapitel war ich ursprünglich zu einer anderen Auffassung geneigt; ich gestehe aber, daß mich die Argumente Mommsens vollkommen überzeugt haben. Ich vermute, daß die Kapitel XXVIII und XL in die erste Zeit der Reformen Constantins zurückgehen, da wir einerseits noch Numeri antreffen, von denen wir sonst in der ganzen *Notitia dignitatum* nur ein Beispiel<sup>21</sup> haben, anderseits aber bereits constantinische Schöpfungen: *Equites* und *Milites*.

Anders verhält es sich mit den Feldtruppen Britanniens. In *Occ. VII* sind sie angeführt, in *V* und *VI* fehlen sie, wie wir sehen werden, gänzlich. Ebenso fehlen in diesen Kapiteln 11 gallische Truppenkörper, also mithin ein recht beträchtlicher Bruchteil dieses Feldheeres. Die Namen mehrerer dieser Truppenkörper beweisen deutlich, daß sie nicht erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkte errichtet worden sein können, daß es sich mithin um Abteilungen handelt, die in der Zeit, die zwischen den verschiedenen Listen liegt, eingegangen sein müssen. Sowohl für die britannischen wie die gallischen Abteilungen finden wir eine Erklärung nur in der Maßregel des Stilicho, der im Winter 401/2 die britannischen und gallischen Feldtruppen zur Verteidigung Italiens heranzog. Von seinen Ergänzungsbezirken abgeschnitten, schwand das kleine britannische Feldheer bald in den schweren Kämpfen gegen Alarich, während man sich bei dem bedeutend größeren gallischen Feldheere durch Zusammenlegung der am meisten geschwächten Abteilungen half. Das

<sup>21</sup> *Occ. XXXV* 32 *numerus barcariorum*.

Ergebnis dieser Maßregel zeigen die Kapitel V und VI im Gegensatz zu VII.

Was nun die Truppen anbelangt, mit denen der Usurpator Constantin (407-411) über den Kanal setzte, so glaube ich, daß dies nur Neuaushebungen gewesen sein können, mithin eine Art Landsturm, der seine Kaders aus jenem Teil der Limitanei erhielt, der dem Usurpator anhing. Wenn auch der Gesamtwert der Limitanei als Kampftruppe der denkbar geringste war, so gab es doch gewiß unter ihnen noch manche tüchtige Offiziere und Unteroffiziere, die für den genannten Zweck treffliche Dienste leisten konnten. Von diesen sahen aber zweifellos nur die wenigsten den Boden Britanniens wieder, und dieser Umstand hat den Verfall der Römerherrschaft noch weiter beschleunigt. Wenn es dann in der Folge zu Aufständen kam, so waren dies weder Revolten gegen den Usurpator noch gegen Rom, sondern ein einfacher Akt der Selbsthilfe des durch den Feind, die Sachsen, bedrängten Volkes. Deshalb konnte auch Honorius (409) ohne sich irgendwie zu vergeben, diese Tat durch ein Dekret <sup>22</sup> sanktionieren.

Constantius <sup>23</sup> berichtet über einen, übrigens unblutigen Sieg über die vereinigten Streitkräfte der Sachsen und Pikten (etwa 429). Abgesehen von der legendären Form, in der diese Heiligungsgeschichte gehalten ist, gibt ihre Schilderung aber auch gar keinen Anhaltspunkt für die Annahme, daß wir es hier mit regulären römischen Truppen zu tun haben. Wir werden wohl nicht fehlgehen, wenn wir in ihnen den britannischen Landsturm erblicken, der in seinen Reihen gewiß viele durch die ständigen Kämpfe erprobte Krieger hatte.

Wenn wir dann hören, <sup>24</sup> daß im Jahre 442 Britannien unter die Herrschaft der Sachsen kam, so bezeichnet dies nicht den Augenblick der Aufgabe der Provinz durch Rom, nicht den Termin der Zurückziehung oder Auflösung der römischen Streitkräfte, sondern den Zeitpunkt, an dem man sich in Rom mit einem tatsächlich schon längst eingetretenen Zustande abfand. Die römischen Truppen in Britannien konnten jedoch weder zurückgezogen noch aufgelöst werden, da es damals schon längst keine mehr gab.

<sup>22</sup> Zosimos VI 10.

<sup>24</sup> Chron. Gall. 128, p. 660.

<sup>23</sup> Vita Germani 17.

*Die rheinischen Legionen.*

Die Notitia dignitatum zeigt uns das Bild der römischen Wehrmacht knapp vor dem Zusammenbruche im Westreiche. Das Schicksal der britannischen Truppen haben wir bereits besprochen. Nicht viel anders verhielt es sich an der Rheingrenze. Schon zur Zeit der Feldzüge Julians (356-361) scheint nicht mehr viel von ihnen bestanden zu haben. Abgesehen davon, daß Ammian ihrer an keiner Stelle Erwähnung tut, worauf wir uns schließlich nicht unbedingt verlassen dürfen, berichtet er ausdrücklich, daß die Germanen eine ganze Reihe von Grenzfestungen in ihren Händen hatten, so Argentoratum, Brocomagus, Tabernae, Saliso, Nemetae, Vangio und Mogontiacum (XVI 2), und daß Julian (359) castra Herculis, Quadriburgium, Tricesimae, Novesium, Bonna, Antumnacum und Bingio wieder eroberte (XVIII 2). Mithin sehen wir schon aus diesen zwei Stellen, daß von den ehemaligen 4 Legionslagern drei—Argentoratum, Mogontiacum und Tricesimae (Vetera)—verloren gegangen waren, und von dem vierten Legionslager, der Colonia Agrippina, heißt es weiter (355; XV 8): *indicabat autem Coloniā Agrippinam, ampli nominis urbem in secunda Germania, pertinaci barbarorum obsidione reseratam magnis viribus et deletam*. Die zerstörten Festungen wurden wohl, wie aus der Erzählung Ammians hervorgeht, wieder in Verteidigungsstand gesetzt, trotzdem sagt er aber (XXVII 10), daß Mogontiacum (368) ohne Besatzung (*praesidiis vacuum*) gewesen sei. Mit den germanischen Grenzlegionen muß es demnach sehr schlecht ausgesehen haben, und wir dürfen daher der Notitia dignitatum nicht den Vorwurf machen, daß sie für die Rheingrenze in Bezug auf die Legionen unvollständig sei.

Nachdem Stilicho die gallischen Feldtruppen abgezogen hatte, ging die Provinz bald darauf (406) durch den Sieg der Vandalen, Alanen und Sueben über die föderierten Franken und Alamannen, denen Stilicho die Verteidigung der Rheingrenze anvertraut hatte, vorübergehend gänzlich verloren; und als es später dem römischen Reiche gelang, in einzelnen Teilen von Gallien wieder festen Fuß zu fassen, da bestanden die römischen Heere nicht mehr aus den alten Einheiten, sondern fast durchwegs aus fremden Söldnern, wie es z. B. die hunnischen Truppen waren, mit denen Aetius (437) gegen Franken, Burgunder und Westgoten den Krieg führte.

*Die afrikanische Grenzlegion.*

Nicht viel anders, als sie hier geschildert wurden, werden sich die Verhältnisse in Afrika gestaltet haben, wo gleichfalls von der Grenzlegion III Augusta, die vormals ihr Standlager in Lambaesis hatte, keine Spur mehr erhalten ist.

*Die Donauprovinzen des Westreiches.*

Von den Donauprovinzen, die zum Westreiche gehörten, ging der größte Teil im Jahre 405 beim Einfall der Ostgoten, Gepiden und Hunnen unter Radagais verloren. Wenn die Gefahr, die hier Italien drohte, auch durch Stilichos Sieg bei Fiesole abgewendet wurde, so kann doch später nicht mehr von einer tatsächlichen römischen Herrschaft an der Donau, wie sie früher unter dem Schutz der Legionen bestand, gesprochen werden. Nachdem zuerst das erstarkende Hunnenvolk diese Gegenden beherrscht hatte, bildeten sich nach dem Tode Attilas (453) selbständige germanische Reiche an der Donau und Theiß. Die kurzen Momente, da sich die Macht Roms wieder über den Alpenwall fühlbar machte, reichten nicht hin, um eine der alten ähnliche Militärverwaltung einzuführen, wozu übrigens auch weder die Finanzkraft des Staates noch sein Menschenreservoir langten.

*Hispanien.*

Aehnlich, wie in Gallien und Afrika entstand auch in Hispanien (409) ein selbständiges germanisches Reich, welches das unwiderrufliche Ende der römischen Militärverwaltung bedeutete.

*Der Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Notitia Dignitatum.*

Die Notitia dignitatum ist nicht erst eine Einführung der spätrömischen Zeit. Von dem Augenblicke angefangen, als die römischen Truppen ständig in den Provinzen verteilt und an den Grenzen standen, war es ein unbedingtes Bedürfnis für die Zentralstellen, Listen der einzelnen Provinzialheere zu besitzen, um für jeden Bedarfsfall sofort zuverlässig orientiert zu sein, welche Streitkräfte verfügbar waren und eventuell an einer bedrohten Stelle eingesetzt werden konnten. Auch die Verzeichnisse,<sup>25</sup> welche Augustus bei seinem Tode hinterließ, waren im Grunde nichts anderes als unsere Notitia dignitatum, freilich damals noch in viel einfacherer Form. Diese Listen wurden bei

<sup>25</sup> Tacitus, Annal. I 11; Dio LVI 33.

den Zentralstellen evident gehalten, und von Zeit zu Zeit durch neue ersetzt, welche die unterstehenden Stellen einzusenden hatten. Solange alle Zentralstellen in Rom vereinigt waren, bestand die *Notitia dignitatum* nur aus einem Teile, der das ganze Reich umfaßte. Daran änderte sich auch nichts, als Constantin I die Zahl der *Praefecti Praetorio* auf 4 vermehrte (Zosimos II 33) und das Reich administrativ in 4 Teile schied, da der Kaiser noch immer die Reichseinheit repräsentierte, und diese Einheit blieb trotz der Teilung des Reiches unter den Söhnen Constantins in vielen Belangen aufrecht. Erst bei der Teilung der Regierungsgeschäfte zwischen Valentinian und Valens (365) wird der Wechsel eingetreten sein, da wir jetzt auch von einer völligen Trennung des militärischen Oberbefehls hören.<sup>26</sup> Das Jahr 365 ist daher das Datum der Teilung der *Notitia dignitatum* in getrennte Bücher für das Ostreich und das Westreich.

Die Wirren am Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts, der Verlust mehrerer Provinzen lassen es begreiflich erscheinen, daß einerseits die Vorlage neuer Listen zum Teil unterblieb, anderseits aber auch die vorhandenen nicht evident gehalten wurden, nicht evident gehalten werden konnten, und daß schließlich sogar ein Teil der jüngsten Listen—ich verweise auf Britannien—in Verlust geriet oder bei irgend einem Anlasse zugrunde ging. Nur so lassen sich die sonst ganz unverständlichen Zeitunterschiede zwischen denselben erklären.

#### b. FEHLER UND AUSLASSUNGEN.

##### *Unterschiede zwischen Ost- und Westreich.*

Betrachten wir den militärischen Teil der *Notitia dignitatum*, so fällt uns sofort der bedeutende Unterschied zwischen der Abfassung im Ostreiche und im Westreiche auf, besonders in Bezug auf die Feldheere. Im Ostreiche stehen 5 Heere unter je einem *Magister Militum*. Von diesen Kommandanten haben 3 einen ganz bestimmten Bereich—Orient, Thrakien und den östlichen Teil von Illyrien—zugewiesen; die beiden anderen, die ihnen im Range vorangehenden *Magistri Militum Praesentales*, d. h. am Hoflager, befehligen hingegen Heere, die für das ganze Ostreich bestimmt sind, ohne an irgendwelche Provinzgrenzen gebunden zu sein. Im Westreich untersteht das gesamte Fußvolk dem *Magister Peditum Praesentalis*, die Reiterei dem *Magister*

<sup>26</sup> Ammian XXVI 5.

Equitum Praesentalis, und aus dieser Gesamtheit sind den 7 Feldheeren—Italien, westlicher Teil von Illyrien, Gallien, Hispanien, Tingitanien, Afrika, Britannien—die Truppen zugeteilt.

Die Notitia Orientis behandelt die Feldheere, nach den 5 Kommandanten getrennt in 5 Kapiteln und nennt hier jede Abteilung zweimal, bei den Abzeichen und bei der Aufzählung nach den verschiedenen Waffengattungen und Truppengattungen. In der Notitia Occidentis enthält je ein Kapitel sämtliche dem Magister Peditum und dem Magister Equitum unterstehenden Feldtruppen, während ein drittes Kapitel die 7 Feldheere aufzählt und zwar zuerst die Fußtruppen aller Armeen, dann ihre Reiterei. Gegen Schluß des Werkes ist dann noch ein Kapitel angehängt, in dem alle sonstigen dem Magister Peditum unterstellten Abteilungen—Hochseeflotten und Fluß-(Binnensee-) Flottillen, Laeti und Gentiles, Besatzungstruppen von Hispanien etc.—zusammengefaßt werden. Die Besatzungstruppen des binnenländischen Thrakien, dem Magister Militum per Thracias untergeordnet, erscheinen am Schlusse des Kapitels vom Dux Moesiae secundae.

#### *Die Notitia Orientis.*

Die Eigentümlichkeit der Abfassung der Notitia Orientis schließt eine gegenseitige Ueberprüfung durch Vergleich der entsprechenden Kapitel wie dies bei der Notitia Occidentis zum Teil möglich ist, leider aus. Nur ein einzigesmal können wir beim Magister Militum per Thracias (Or. VIII) die Legio Comitatus "Gratianenses", die, anscheinend durch einen Abschreibfehler, am Schlusse der Aufzählung der Waffen- und Truppengattungen ausgelassen wurde, aus dem den Abbildungen der Abzeichen beigefügten Texte ergänzen. Auch können wir feststellen, daß eine Anzahl von Abbildungen samt dem entsprechenden Texte entfallen ist.

Auf eine Korrektur betreffend den Namen einer Legion (Or. VII 47 I Flavia Theodosiana) führt uns ferner der Vergleich mit anderen von demselben Herrscher errichteten Abteilungen. Die Notitia Orientis zählt unter den Legiones Comitatus des Magister Militum per Orientem auf:

Or. VII 44 I Flavia Constantia.

45 II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum.

46 II felix Valentis Thebaeorum.

47 I Flavia Theodosiana.

Ferner bei den Pseudocomitatenses des Magister Militum per Illyricum:

Or. IX 46 secundi Theodosiani.

Die beiden Legionen mit dem Beinamen Flavia Constantia (Or. 44; 45) erscheinen auf den ersten Blick als ein zusammengehöriges Paar. Daß dem aber nicht so ist, zeigt die zweimalige Wiederkehr der Gruppen: als Grenzlegionen:

- I Maximiana (Or. XXXI 37).
- II Flavia Constantia (Or. XXXI 32).
- III Diocletiana (Or. XXVIII 18; XXXI 31; 33; 38).

als Legiones Comitatus:

- I Maximiana Thebaeorum (Or. VIII 36).
- II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum (Or. VII 45).
- III Diocletiana Thebaeorum (Or. VIII 37).

Diocletian hatte die Gruppe der Grenzlegionen nach sich selbst, seinem Mitkaiser Maximian und dem Cäsar Flavius Constantius benannt. Das Verständnis für diese Kombination mag aber im Laufe der Zeit verloren gegangen sein, denn wir sehen in der Notitia dignitatum bei den Comitatus die beiden Legionen, deren Zusammenhang sinnfälliger war—I Maximiana und III Diocletiana—zusammen in Thrakien, die II Flavia Constantia hingegen, in ihrer Abstammung erkenntlich durch den Zusatz Thebaeorum (wo die gleichnamige Grenzlegion stand, aus der sie hervorgegangen ist) im Orient gemeinsam und unmittelbar hinter einer I Flavia Constantia, mit der sie ein Legionspaar <sup>27</sup> bildete.

Beim Magister Militum per Orientem wird ferner noch eine Legio Comitatus I Flavia Theodosiana angeführt. Wenn es nun auch nicht ausgeschlossen ist, daß Theodosius, der auch den Namen Flavius trug, eine Legion derart nach sich benannte, so hat diese Annahme, wie die Namen aller übrigen theodosianischen Truppenkörper zeigen, doch wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich. Eher dürfte es sich hier um einen Textfehler handeln. Zuerst dachte ich an einen solchen, ähnlich wie ihn Seeck

<sup>27</sup> Derartige Legionspaare sind vor allem die zusammengehörigen seniores und iuniores, dann aber auch Gebilde wie Martii-Minervii (Comitatus), I Italica—IV Italica (Pseudocomitatus) und viele andere.

erwähnt,<sup>28</sup> daß nämlich im Texte zwei Zeilen in eine zusammengezogen wurden. In unserem Falle hätte es dann ursprünglich gelaute:

I Flavia.

I Theodosiana.

Dagegen spricht aber schon die Tatsache, daß keine einzige der vielen Abteilungen mit dem Beinamen Flavia diese Bezeichnung allein trägt; wir müßten also auch noch die Auslassung eines wichtigen Bestandteiles des Namens voraussetzen. Nun sehen wir aber, daß von den 13 Abteilungen,<sup>29</sup> die sonst noch in der Notitia den Namen des Theodosius tragen, nur 3 einen besonderen Beinamen haben und zwar durchwegs "felices". Derselbe wiederholt sich auch bei den Söhnen des Kaisers u. zw. bei Arcadius zweimal,<sup>30</sup> bei Honorius fünfmal.<sup>31</sup> Ich vermute daher, daß der Wortlaut des Textes aus Flavia in felix zu verbessern ist, so daß er zu lauten hätte: I felix Theodosiana.

Mit der Legio Pseudocomitatensis Secundani Theodosiani hat diese Legion nichts gemein, da die Zählung aller nach Theodosius benannten Truppenkörper innerhalb jeder Kategorie ganz selbständig und von den anderen unabhängig ist.

Es scheint übrigens als ob auch der der I felix Theodosiana vorangehende Legionsname, II felix Valentis Thebaeorum, einer Korrektur bedürfe. Der Zusatz Thebaeorum kommt nämlich nur in Verbindung mit diocletianischen Grenzlegionen und den von diesen abgeleiteten Abteilungen vor. Besonders auffallend ist überdies in unserem Falle, daß unmittelbar vor der II felix Valentis Thebaeorum die II Flavia Constantia Thebaeorum steht. Es liegt daher die Vermutung nahe, daß es sich um eine irrtümliche Wiederholung des Zusatzes handelt, und daß der Name richtig zu lauten hat: II felix Valentis.

Mit dieser Abänderung sind wir nun schon am Ende der auf diese Weise möglichen Berichtigungen der Notitia Orientis angelangt.

ERNST VON NISCHER.

WIEN.

(To be continued.)

<sup>28</sup> Zur Kritik der Notitia dignitatum, S. 231.

<sup>29</sup> Or. V 64; 65; 66; VI 33; 62; 64 = 66; 67; VII 57; VIII 27; 32; IX 41; 46; 47.

<sup>30</sup> Or. VI 63 = 65; VII 36.

<sup>31</sup> Or. V 62; VII 37; XXXI 40; XXXVI 22. Occ. V 247 = VII 89.



## THE HERO OF THE PHARSALIA.

Like the Iliad, Lucan's poem begins with a presage of woe:

Bella per Emathios plus quam civilia campos,  
Iusque datum sceleri canimus.

There is here no clarion "*Arma virumque cano*", nor is there at once presented an august personage, charged with a high commission, to the fulfillment of which he progresses, everywhere supported by the poet's sympathy and solicitude.

If the qualifications of a "hero" for this martial tale are thus defined, neither Caesar nor Pompey nor Cato measures up fully to the rôle, though their claims are very unequal.

Of Caesar it may be said that he is in the lime light from start to finish, and that he is the actor in the drama who carries through his programme to victory. But to this programme the poet professes to be violently opposed. He heaps abuse upon Caesar, and puts the worst possible construction upon his actions, holding him up for the execration of the reader. Surely Lucan did not set out to make a "hero" of Caesar.

For Pompey a somewhat better case can be claimed on the ground that the poet is in sympathy with his fight against Caesar, usually according him support and praise. But, at best, Pompey was an idol with feet of clay; and by Lucan's own showing he often falls below the heroic level. Moreover, following his withdrawal from the scene of action, he is overshadowed by the more commanding figure of Cato.

The claim of the last named leader calls for more detailed consideration. That he was not cast at the very start for the hero of the piece would seem to be indicated by the character of the scattered references to him in the earlier part of the poem, and by the fact that he does not come into view as a real participant in the drama until the ninth book is reached.

Before that point, he is mentioned in five passages, two of which are mere glancing references. Thus it is said of the wealth in the treasury that Cato had brought a part from Cyprus.<sup>1</sup> And, when lamenting the fact that Pompey did not

<sup>1</sup> iii. 164.

follow up his advantage in the battle near Dyrrachium, Lucan remarks that (among other things) Cato would not have had to die.<sup>2</sup>

In the earliest reference of all, the introduction of Cato's name might pass as merely conventional:

i. 126 ff.:

Quis iustius induit arma?  
Scire nefas: magno se iudice quisque tuetur:  
Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.

At this stage of the poem, Lucan professes to be unable to decide whether the blame for the armed conflict lay more heavily upon Caesar or upon Pompey. In what is said above, Cato is referred to in his conventionally recognized character as "the good man" of his generation.<sup>3</sup> And while it is very complimentary to Cato to pair him with the gods, it is but an incidental reference lacking a technique fitting the introduction of the hero of an epic.

In the fifth passage, which is of some length,<sup>4</sup> there is better opportunity to judge of Lucan's attitude toward Cato when he undertook the writing of the *Pharsalia*. Noteworthy is the prosaic and unheroic introduction to the interview between Brutus and his uncle:

ii. 238:

Atria cognati pulsat non ampla Catonis.

The conversation that ensues does not begin on a high level. In response to a question of Brutus, Cato expresses his abhorrence of civil war, but feels that he cannot stand aloof, now that the die is cast. A higher note is struck in the wish that he, like the Decii, might save the state by becoming a sole sacrifice.<sup>5</sup>

The entrance of Marcia requesting remarriage motivates a weird and depressing scene, in which Cato's attitude is chill and abstracted;<sup>6</sup> and while the closing remarks on his character<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> vi. 311. In a third passage (i. 313) Caesar is represented as using the plural *Catonēs* contemptuously.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the remark of Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* v. 4: . . . si modo est ulla virtus; quam dubitationem avunculus tuus, Brute, sustulit.

<sup>4</sup> ii. 234-391.

<sup>6</sup> Line 326 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Line 306 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Line 381 ff.

are in general complimentary, their lack of warmth is noticeable, and the reader is left with the impression of a hasty and condensed list of virtues.<sup>8</sup>

If at this point Lucan designed to introduce Cato as the hero of his epic, he certainly presents him in a light more likely to excite the derision than the admiration of the gay circle in which he moved, or the idle audiences before which he read.

But when Cato appears again in the ninth book, all is changed. He is no longer a squalid anchorite, but a magnetic leader of men. It is he that has reorganized the Pompeian forces after Pharsalus. He transports the army to Africa. His eloquence recalls the deserting Cilicians.<sup>9</sup> He heartens his followers to brave the dangers of the desert. He shares every hardship of the marching column, and he sits by the side of the dying.<sup>10</sup>

It is the released soul of Pompey that lays upon him the patriotic duty of continuing the struggle against Caesar,<sup>11</sup> a task which he undertakes unhampered by Pompey's spirit of self-seeking. Upheld by the consciousness of divinity within, he refuses to consult the oracle in Africa,<sup>12</sup> but marches away, steadfastly driving on to meet whatever fate has in store.

Lucan warms to this theme, and, though late, he seems to be developing a real hero for his poem. Had the work been carried on to include Thapsus, Cato doubtless would have gone forth in a veritable blaze of glory. It seems hardly likely that Lucan intended to stop short of that point.

Lacking a fully developed hero for the Pharsalia, would it be too fanciful to suggest the claims of a heroine, namely *Libertas*? Certainly she plays an outstanding part through the whole tragedy. At first she is exploited by rival partisans who use her name as a cloak for their selfish designs. After Pharsalus, she withdraws in despair beyond Roman boundaries, to an exile made permanent by Caesar's final victory and the establishment of an imperial house.

Perhaps Lucan began without any very definite notion as to a hero or heroine for his poem. But the fact remains that the

<sup>8</sup> Sallust's characterization (*Bell. Cat.* 54) may well be read in this connection.

<sup>9</sup> ix. 222 ff.

<sup>10</sup> ix. 881 ff.

<sup>11</sup> ix. 17 ff.

<sup>12</sup> ix. 564 ff.

vital issue throughout is between "liberty" and "tyranny"; and it is at least worth noting that *Libertas* often is clearly personified, as in her withdrawal after Pharsalus:

vii. 432 ff.:

Quod fugiens civile nefas redituraque numquam  
Libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit,  
Ac totiens nobis iugulo quaesita vagatur,  
Germanum Scythicumque bonum, nec respicit ultra  
Ausoniam. •

So in the following:

vii. 695 ff.:

Sed par, quod semper habemus,  
Libertas et Caesar erit.<sup>13</sup>

From this point of view, some aspects of the poet's procedure are at once clarified:

Everything centers about the cause of Liberty. Against it Lucan sees a deadly blow aimed in the formation of the First Triumvirate,<sup>14</sup> of whose breaking up he regards the civil war as a natural sequence.<sup>15</sup>

At the outset, as already noted, the poet professes to be unable to determine whether it is Caesar who is more to blame for the armed strife.<sup>16</sup> But as he looks forward and sees in him the victorious founder of a *regnum*, it is inevitable that to Caesar should be assigned the rôle of villain in the piece. As the arch-enemy of *Libertas* he must be painted in the blackest colors.<sup>17</sup>

Quite aside from the question of general influences that might incline Lucan to side with Pompey, a proper balance here requires that this leader be revamped as the champion of *Libertas* against the assaults of Caesar. Lucan did not find it altogether easy to accomplish this, and at times he lets slip admissions which show how much Pompey is being "made up" for the part. The assignment, however, had an additional fitness in

<sup>13</sup> Cf. ii. 303, iii. 114, 138, vii. 580.

<sup>14</sup> i. 84 ff.

<sup>15</sup> i. 4 ff.: *rupto foedere regni certatum*.

<sup>16</sup> i. 126 ff.

<sup>17</sup> It should be noted that this attitude toward Caesar is manifested very early in the poem; e. g. in i. 145, 205, 476.

the fact that Pompey and the senate had long worked together; and it was at a gathering of senators in Epirus that he was formally invested with authority to wage war in behalf of the state against Caesar.<sup>18</sup> As above indicated, in Cato, as Pompey's successor, a much more fitting champion of *Libertas* was developed.

In making up Caesar for his part, Lucan certainly did a very thorough piece of business. His audiences doubtless wanted something "spicy", and in this the poet did not disappoint them. By misrepresentation and vilification he produces a character well suited to the present purpose.

As to Caesar's actual conduct in the civil war, our chief source of information, of course, is his own account, so far as that extends. But he wrote and published at a time when any lapse in veracity could be checked by a myriad of witnesses; and there is other evidence of great value, such as that provided by Cicero.

Certain it is that Caesar treated Roman foemen with a clemency that far surpassed the hope or expectation of those who might have been supposed to be in a position to form an opinion in advance. It was his preference, if possible, to save Roman blood by the use of strategy rather than of force.<sup>19</sup> Time and again he held out the olive branch, proposing peace without victory;<sup>20</sup> and justification is not lacking for the remark ascribed to him as he reviewed the stricken field of Pharsalus: "*hoc voluerunt*", i. e. "they would have it."<sup>21</sup>

Against the background of fact, it is interesting and instructive to examine Lucan's account of Caesar's behavior in connection with this pivotal battle. To start with, he is leagued with the powers of Hell:

vii. 168 ff.:

At tu, quos scelerum superos, quas rite vocasti  
Eumenidas, Caesar? Stygii quae numina regni  
Infernumque nefas et mersos nocte furores?  
Impia tam saeve gesturus bella litasti?

<sup>18</sup> v. 47 ff.

<sup>19</sup> B. C. i. 71 ff.

<sup>20</sup> E. g., B. C. iii. 19, 57.

<sup>21</sup> Suetonius, *Iul.* 30. 4.

On the battlefield he rages like a fiend incarnate, urging on the soldiers to their bloody work:

vii. 557 ff.:

Hic Caesar, rabies populi stimulusque furorum,  
Ne qua parte sui pereat scelus, agmina circum  
It vagus atque ignes animis flagrantibus addit;  
Inspicit et gladios, qui toti sanguine manent,  
Qui niteant primo tantum mucrone cruenti,  
Quae presso tremat ense manus, quis languida tela,  
Quis contenta ferat, quis praestet bella iubenti,  
Quem pugnare iuvet, quis voltum cive perempto  
Mutet; obit latis proiecta cadavera campis;  
Volnera multorum totum fusura cruorem  
Opposita premit ipse manu. Quacumque vagatur,  
Sanguineum veluti quatiens Bellona flagellum  
Bistonas aut Mavors agitans, si verberare saevo  
Palladia stimulet turbatos aegide currus,  
Nox ingens scelerum est; caedes oriuntur, et instar  
Immensae vocis gemitus, et pondere lapsi  
Pectoris arma sonant confractique ensibus enses.  
Ipse manu subicit gladios ac tela ministrat  
Adversosque iubet ferro contundere voltus.  
Promovet ipse acies, impellit terga suorum,  
Verberare conversae cessantis excitat hastae.

Finding his old enemy Domitius dying on the ground, he taunts him brutally (606 ff.), and, sinking to the level of a bestial Vitellius,<sup>22</sup> he orders a feast spread in a place from which he can enjoy a view of the slain as he eats:

vii. 789 ff.:

Cernit propulsa cruore  
Flumina et excelsos cumulis aequantia colles  
Corpora, sidentis in tabem spectat acervos,  
Et Magni numerat populos, epulisque paratur  
Ille locus, voltus ex quo faciesque iacentum  
Agnoscat.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Suetonius, *Vit.* 10. 3; cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* ii. 70.

<sup>23</sup> The absurd character of this abuse is shown in the description of the attack of the Alexandrians upon the palace where Caesar was stopping. According to Lucan, that veteran of a hundred battles was scared almost out of his senses:

x. 454 ff.:

Quem non violasset Alanus,  
Non Seytha, non fixo qui ludit in hospite Maurus,  
Hic, cui Romani spatium non sufficit orbis

Aside from outright misrepresentation, the most unworthy designs are freely ascribed to Caesar,<sup>24</sup> and the worst interpretation is put upon his actions. According to Lucan, Caesar's grief at the sight of Pompey's head is all a pretense, and he is an arrant hypocrite in uttering lines that rank easily with the noblest in the whole poem:

ix. 1097 ff.:

"Laeta dies rapta est populis. Concordia mundo  
Nostra perit. Caruere deis mea vota secundis,  
Ut te complexus positus felicibus armis  
Affectus a te veteres vitamque rogarem,  
Magne, tuam, dignaque satis mercede laborum  
Contentus par esse tibi; tunc pace fideli  
Fecissem, ut victus posses ignoscere divis,  
Fecisses, ut Roma mihi."<sup>25</sup>

Artful suggestion almost surpassing the Tacitean variety is well illustrated in a passage which has to do with the desperate state to which the Pompeians were reduced by lack of water when they were trying to win a way back to the shelter of Ilerda:

iv. 319 ff.:

O fortunati, fugiens quos barbarus hostis  
Fontibus inmixto stravit per rura veneno.  
Hos licet in fluvios saniem tabemque ferarum,  
Pallida Dictaeis, Caesar, nascentia saxis  
Infundas aconita palam, Romana iuventus  
Non decepta bibet.

---

Parvaeque regna putet Tyriis cum Gadibus Indos,  
Ceu puer inbellis, ceu captis femina muris,  
Quaerit tuta domus, spem vitae in limine clauso  
Ponit et incerto lustrat vagus atria cursu.

The spotlight flickers, the caricature fades out, and suddenly the real Caesar appears in 488 ff.:

Sed adest defensor ubique  
Caesar et hos aditus gladiis, hos ignibus arcet,  
Obsessusque gerit (tanta est constantia mentis)  
Expugnantis opus.

<sup>24</sup> Such as a willingness to destroy and plunder Rome (v. 305 ff.; cf. vii. 758 ff.). As for the fact, see v. 270 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Lucan here has rather overreached himself. With due allowance for the fact that Caesar's clemency was perhaps a matter more of policy than of sentiment, the poet makes him say just the right thing here. The words ring true.

The Romans scorned the use of poison in warfare, even against foreigners.<sup>26</sup> Caesar's name is brought in quite gratuitously in this connection; but the fact that he is addressed here carries the subtle suggestion that he might easily be capable of such a crime.

Casting Pompey for a more desirable part, Lucan yet allows the keen-sighted Cato to see that he was just as selfishly ambitious as his rival.<sup>27</sup> He would willingly pay a high price for the head of Caesar torn off.<sup>28</sup> And the pusillanimous character of his flight after Pharsalus is by no means covered up.<sup>29</sup>

Pompey's futility as a leader is strikingly portrayed in the failure of his speeches to carry conviction to the audiences addressed, as when he tries to persuade his troops to make a stand in Italy against Caesar.<sup>30</sup> Later he is shown in a light that might almost be called pitiable in the council called together in Asia Minor to plan for the further conduct of the war.<sup>31</sup>

There he suggests the unpatriotic expedient of enlisting the Parthians to help in defeating Caesar, noting, apparently with satisfaction, that they would not scruple to use poisoned weapons; and he adds, with a suggestion of Greek cunning,<sup>32</sup> that the Parthians might so be used up and killed off, thus relieving the Roman world of a menace of long standing. To these proposals the manly and plain-spoken Lentulus makes fitting rejoinder, and Pompey is pushed aside like a nonentity in a gathering which he should have dominated.

As loser in the struggle and foully murdered, Pompey's fate doubtless made an appeal to the sympathies of Lucan;<sup>33</sup> at any

<sup>26</sup> See the discussion of Horace, *Carm.* i. 22 in the *Classical Journal*, XVI, 536 ff. Cf. also Valerius Maximus, vi. 5. 1.

<sup>27</sup> ii. 320 ff. Tacitus also lists Pompey among the enemies of "liberty", remarking that he was "more diplomatic but not better" than the others:

*Hist.* ii. 38. 3: *mox e plebe infima C. Marius et nobilium saevissimus Sulla victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior non melior.*

<sup>28</sup> viii. 11 ff.

<sup>29</sup> See especially viii. 5 ff.

<sup>30</sup> ii. 596.

<sup>31</sup> viii. 262 ff.

<sup>32</sup> One is reminded here of the stories told by Nepos of the tricks of the Greeks, and of attempts to enlist the Persians in Greek quarrels.

<sup>33</sup> See vii. 210 ff.



rate, toward the end, he seems moved to retire this actor from the scene with a generous show of dignity; e. g.

vii. 680 ff.:

Non gemitus, non fletus erat salvaque verendus  
Maestate dolor, qualem te, Magne, decebat  
Romanis praestare malis.<sup>34</sup>

viii. 629 ff.:

"Spargant lacèrentque licebit,  
Sum tamen, o superi, felix, nullique potestas  
Hoc auferre deo."<sup>35</sup>

viii. 663 ff.:

At Magni cum terga sonent et pectora ferro,  
Permansisse decus sacrae venerabile formae  
Irataque deis faciem, nil ultima mortis  
Ex habitu voltuque viri mutasse fatentur,  
Qui lacerum videre caput.<sup>36</sup>

After his death, the spirit of Pompey suffers a sort of apotheosis, rising to the upper spaces that are the home of the demigods.<sup>37</sup>

In his championship of *Libertas* against the evil designs of Caesar, it is not to be supposed, of course, that Lucan is putting himself forward as a statesman advocating the restoration of the old republican regime as a cure for the ills of his own day. To him *Libertas*, as an academic theme, was an effective subject for declamation.<sup>38</sup>

That his poem was so conceived and so understood seems perfectly clear from the internal evidence. That it was a deliberate attack upon the house of the Caesars is altogether unlikely.

In judging of this matter, account must be taken of what happened to others; e. g.

<sup>34</sup> This when in cowardly flight from the field of Pharsalus!

<sup>35</sup> Reflections of Pompey after he was attacked by the assassins.

<sup>36</sup> Note *vir* in line 666.

<sup>37</sup> ix. 3 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Somewhat as Cicero fulminates against Catiline and all his works. On this his own remark is illuminating: *ad Att.* i. 14. 4: "de inter-mortuis reliquiis coniurationis. . . . Nosti iam in hac materia sonitus nostros."

Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 34. 1: Cornelio Cosso Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremutius Cordus postulatur novo ac tunc primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset.<sup>39</sup>

Here, under Tiberius, a man loses his life for praising Brutus and referring to Cassius as "the last of the Romans." So, in the time of Domitian, the nephew of Otho suffered a like fate for celebrating the birthday of his uncle.<sup>40</sup> After the affair of Piso's conspiracy, Nero, too, had an eye for treason everywhere, and took action accordingly, as in the case of Cassius Longinus, a blind lawyer, whose crime it was to have retained in a place of honor among the masks of the family that of the regicide of the same name.<sup>41</sup>

But Lucan worked on his academic theme apparently unconcerned and certainly not checked, though he has things to say that might be dangerous enough, if taken seriously. So his remarks on Curio, who fell in Africa:

iv. 821:

Ius licet in iugulos nostros sibi fecerit ense  
Sulla potens Mariusque ferox et Cinna cruentus  
*Caesareaeque domus series*, cui tanta potestas  
Concessa est?

So also the apostrophe to Brutus, when he is represented as prowling about the field of Pharsalus, looking for a chance to surprise and strike down Caesar:

vii. 588:

O decus imperii, spes o suprema senatus,  
Extremum tanti generis per saecula nomen!<sup>42</sup>

It might seem that the line was overstepped in such a reference as the following, in which the deified emperors are represented in the dungeon of Tartarus, under the feet of the more happily situated members of the Pompeian family:

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Tib.* 61. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Suetonius, *Dom.* 10. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Suetonius, *Nero* 37. 1, Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 7.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. viii. 608 ff.

vi. 807 ff.:

Properate mori magnoque superbi  
Quamvis e parvis animo descendite bustis  
*Et Romanorum manes calcate deorum.*

Perhaps Nero's ribald attitude toward the deified Claudius may have caused Lucan to feel less need of circumspection in touching such a matter.<sup>43</sup>

In view of the misrepresentation and abuse he suffers throughout the *Pharsalia*, particular interest attaches to a passage in which Caesar, in his pursuit of Pompey, visits the scenes of the Trojan war. As he views the vanishing memorials of the famous dead, Lucan as it were throws an arm about Caesar's neck, and in a confidential and almost "chummy" aside, begs him not to be jealous of the fame of the mighty heroes of old, because his own great career will be immortalized by the poem now in the writing!

ix. 980 ff.:

O sacer et magnus vatum labor, omnia fato  
Eripis, et populis donas mortalibus aevum.  
Invidia sacrae, Caesar, ne tangere famae;  
Nam, si quid Latius fas est promittere Musis,  
Quantum Zmyrnaei durabunt vatis honores,  
Venturi me teque legent; *Pharsalia nostra*  
Vivet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aevo.

Lucan seems to have composed as the spirit moved, or as the argument of his theme demanded. For him there was a vast change from the time when Horace wrote to Pollio:

*Carm.* ii. l. 6 ff.:

Periculosae plenum opus aleae  
Tractas, et incedis per ignis  
Suppositos cineri doloso.

Hence, far along toward the end of the extant poem, he does not hesitate to call upon Rome to have the ashes of Pompey gathered up and brought back for proper honor and burial:

viii. 837 ff.:

Si saecula prima  
Victoris timuere minas, nunc excipe saltem  
Ossa tui Magni.

<sup>43</sup> See Suetonius, Nero 33. 1, and cf. [Seneca], *Oct.* 449.

To entertain the blasé audiences at the *recitationes* was one thing; it was quite another to join Piso's conspiracy. Toward the license of writers Augustus had shown himself indulgent;<sup>44</sup> and that Nero was not constitutionally thin-skinned is attested by Suetonius:

*Nero* 39. 1: Mirum et vel praecipue notabile inter haec fuerit nihil eum patientius quam maledicta et convicia hominum tulisse, neque in ullos leniorem quam qui se dictis aut carminibus lacecessissent extitisse.

But it is not unnatural that he should have become more suspicious and cruel after the attempt made against his life.

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<sup>44</sup> Suetonius, *Tib.* 61. 3.

## GOTHIC NOTES.

### I. *pai ubilaba habandans* (οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες), Mk. 2, 17.

With this intransitive usage of *haban* (= Germ. *sich befinden*) with an adverb (*ubilaba*) compare ON *hafa vel, illa* 'to be happy, unhappy'. It may be questioned, therefore, whether the Gothic construction represents a mere loan translation from the Greek, as H. V. Velten ("Studies in Gothic Vocabulary", *JEGPh.*, 29, 345) contends. While Wulfila no doubt used the adverb *ubilaba* in imitation of the Grk. κακῶς, nevertheless the parallel with the ON idiom points towards the conclusion that the adverbial usage was in accord with the native Gothic idiom.

There can be no suspicion of Grk. influence in the case of ON *hafa vel, illa* (= Grk. ἔχειν καλῶς, κακῶς). The shift from transitive to intransitive in the case of ON *hafa* : Goth. *haban*, just as in the case of Grk. ἔχειν, may be explained as due to an impersonal object understood; cf. OHG *ez guot habēn* 'to have [things] well', 'to be well off' = Dan.-Norw. *ha det godt*.

The fact that Wulfila elsewhere prefers the transitive use of *haban* with a direct object *ubil* (subst. usage of the adj.) (cf. *pai ubil habandans, oi κακῶς ἔχοντες*; Mat. 8, 16; Mk. 1, 32, 34; 6, 55, similarly *aftumist* (subst. usage of the adj.) *habaiþ, ἐσχάτως ἔχει*, Mk. 5, 23) does not militate against my hypothesis, for the two idioms (trans. and intrans. verb) could very well have existed side by side. From the isolated case of the intransitive usage of *haban* (Mk. 2, 17) we may infer, however, that this usage had not become so wide-spread as in the later ON period.

### II. *Hwan filu* 'how much'.

In conjunction with an adjective (cf. *hwan aggwu*, Mat. 7, 14) or with an adverb (cf. *hwan filu*, Mk. 7, 36) the interrogative particle *hwan* means 'how', otherwise 'when'. This semantic relation has, so far as I know, never been explained.

The adverbial particle *hwan* is derived from the interrogative pronoun *hwa* with *n*-ending (instrumental-ablative),<sup>1</sup> parallel to *þan* from the demonstrative pronominal stem, *þa-ta*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Behaghel, *Deutsche Syntax*, I, § 149, B, II, 3; K. Brugmann, *IF.*, 27, 159.

The original sense of *hwan* : *pan* could, therefore, have been 'by what much' : 'by that much'. In the case of *pan* this sense is obviously present after comparatives in the phrase *pan-a* [-*mais*, -*seips*]<sup>2</sup> 'by that much more' > 'further, still'. *pan* 'then' must have originally signified 'by that much [time]'.

Just as *pan*[-*a*] had both a temporal ('then') and a measurement ('by that much') force, so likewise *hwan* (cf. *hwan* 'when' and *hwan filu mais* 'by how much more').

From the parallel between *pan*[-*a*] and *hwan* it is evident that the semantic development of Goth. *hwan* was not from 'when' to 'how' but that the sense of 'how' in *hwan filu* represents an independent development from original 'by what' (cf. OE *tó hwon* 'for what', *for hwon* 'why').

*Hwan* 'how' (measurement) was later discarded in the Germ. languages in favor either of the regular instrumental form of the pronoun *hwa* (cf. ON *hvé* : *hví* = old locative, OE *hú*) or of the adverb *hwaiwa* (cf. OHG-OS *hwio*). Already in Gothic this tendency had begun (cf. *hwe managizo*, Mat. 5, 47, *hwaiwa mais*, Mat. 6, 30).

### III. The Indefinite Particle *pis-* in *pis-hwazuh*, *pis-hwah*, etc.

Wilmanns<sup>3</sup> connects Goth. *pis-* here with OHG -*des*, -*thes*, -*tes*, etc. in *eddes*-, *ethes*-, *etes-wer*-, *-waz* 'someone, something or other'. Evidently Goth. *pis-* (= OHG -*des* in *ed-des*-) represents a *genitive of manner* = 'in this manner, thus, so' (cf. *filaus*, *raihitis*, *allis*, etc.).

The *pis-*<sup>4</sup> in *pis-hwazuh saei* [*ei*, *pei*] could then have the same force as, e. g., the OHG adverbial *so*<sup>1</sup> in *so hwer so*, i. e., *pis-* : *so* represent adverbial correlatives to *saei* : *so* ('anyone such as' = 'whoever'). Both Goth. *pis-* and OHG *so* acquired their indefinite force from the indefinite particle with which they were connected.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ON *pá en meira*, OHG *danahalt* (cf. Goth. *ni þe haldis*, Skeir. 4, 22), *dana mēr*, OS *than mēr*, OE *þan mǣ*.

For *pana* in this construction see G. W. Small, *The Comparison of Inequality* (Johns Hopkins Dissertation), p. 80; also *MLN*, XLI, 300-313; and *PMLA* XLV, 368 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Gramm.*, II, § 430.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly *pis-* in *pis-hwazuh ei*, *pis-hwaruh ei*, 'whithersoever', 'wheresoever'.

IV. *Fraþjan* and the Dative Case.

*Fraþjan* is one of the few verbs governing both the accusative and the dative case but with a difference in meaning. With the accusative *fraþjan* means 'to have an opinion, think' (cf. Rom. 12, 16, *þata samo in izwis misso fraþjandans, τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονούντες*, "Being of the same mind one toward the other"), with the dative 'to understand' (cf. L. 2, 50, *jah ija ni froþun þamma waurða, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ συνῆκαν τὸ ῥῆμα*, "And they did not understand the word").

Erdmann<sup>5</sup> classifies this dative as a locative ("verständig sein in etwas"). Delbrück<sup>6</sup> with some hesitation classifies it (by virtue of its connection with Lith. *prantù* 'werde gewohnt') as a genuine dative.

Neither of these two explanations seems to me satisfactory.

As regards the locative case, with verbs of perception the locative regularly refers to the *seat of perception* (heart, mind, soul, etc.) and not to the *thing* perceived (cf., e. g., Mk. 2, 8 *ufkunnands Jesus ahmin seinamma, ἐπιγινὼς ὁ Ἰησοῦς τῷ πνεύματι* "Jesus perceiving in his spirit").

It is doubtful if Lith. *prantù* 'werde gewohnt' throws any light upon the nature of the dative with Goth. *fraþjan*, as Delbrück maintains. It is at least not necessary to assume that the Lith. verb represents the original IE construction.

On the other hand, if we consider the dative after *fraþjan* as a dative of respect ("Dativ der Beziehung")—which according to Delbrück<sup>7</sup> represents an original instrumental—we have an interpretation quite in accord with a well established Germ. idiom.

The *dative of respect* denotes in what particular respect the verbal action is true (cf., e. g., L. 2, 52 *Iesus þaīh froðein jah wahstau jah anstai, Ἰησοῦς προέκοπτεν σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ χάριτι*, "Jesus grew (throve) in [respect to] wisdom, stature and grace").

Just as after the verb *þeihan* the dative denotes in what respect one *thrives*, so after the verb *fraþjan* the dative denotes in what respect one is *intelligent*; i. e., *ija ni froþun þamma*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. O. Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, II, § 305.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. B. Delbrück, *Synkretismus*, chap. VI, § 38.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, chap. V, § 26.

*waurda* (L. 2, 50), "They were not intelligent in respect to the word" = "They did not understand the word".

There is no reason why we should not assume the verb *frapþjan* as equivalent in force to the corresponding adjective *frops* plus the substantive verb *wisan*. After adjectives this dative of respect was of common occurrence in Germanic, — cf. Goth. *gaskohai fotum*, ὑποδησάμενοι τοὺς πόδας, "Being shod as to your feet" = "Having shod your feet" (Eph. 6, 15); ON *blindr augum* 'blind in [respect to] the eyes,' *fríðr synum* 'beautiful in appearance', etc. I cannot see that the dative after Goth. *frapþjan* differs in nature from these datives after adjectives; with Goth. *ni froþum þamma waurda* compare OE *giddum frōð* (*Elene*, 531) 'wise in speech'.

V. *þatain* (subst. or adv.) 'one, only': *þatainei* (adv.) 'only'.

The demonstrative suffix *-ei* was obviously added to *þatain* in order to distinguish the purely substantival usage of *þatain* (cf. *þatain* (þv) *wait*, J. 9, 25) from its adverbial usage (cf. *ni þatain*, *ak jah*, "Not only, but also", Rom. 9, 10).

For a direct parallel to the adverbial accusative *þatain* 'only' compare ON *þat eina* 'only', as in "fóru þat eina með bygðum" (*Heimskr.*, 124, 17) "They only went near the villages."

VI. *Andizuh* [-*aiþþau*] 'either [-or]'.

The word *andizuh* (<\**andiz* + *uh*) occurs only once (L. 16, 13), and as a correlative to *aiþþau* (þ—þ) 'either—or'. There can be no doubt that Goth. \**andis* represents the comparative form<sup>8</sup> of *and-*: *and-a-* 'towards, along', identical with ON *endr* 'formerly', 'back again', OE *end*: OHG *enti* 'formerly'.

Undoubtedly the comparative form *andiz* [-*uh*] is due to the fact that *two*<sup>9</sup> propositions (*either—or*) are under consideration; one proposition is compared with the other.

If we may assume *and* to have retained the earlier sense of 'towards, in front of' (cf. Skr. *ánti*: Grk. *ávρι* 'in front of')

<sup>8</sup> Cf. S. Feist, *Etym. Wtb. der got. Sprache* under *andizuh*; A. Fick, *Vgl. Wtb. der indo-germ. Sprachen*, under *anþiz*, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. NHG *entweder* < OHG *ein-de-weder* lit. 'one of two things' > 'either'; similarly Dan.-Norw. *eller* 'or' (< ON *eller* comp. < *elligar* < Goth. *aljaileikos* comp.).



the comparative form *and-iz* (-uh) could then have meant '[standing] before [us] in one of two [comp.] ways', i. e., 'whether the question is *turned this way or that*' > 'either'. For the change from the place idea in *andiz*[-uh] 'in front of' to the conditional idea 'either' compare NHG *ob* (lit. 'over') 'whether' and Dano-Norw. *om* (lit. 'around') 'whether' ("ich weiss nicht *ob*"; "jeg ved ikke *om*").

ON *endr* 'formerly' developed a sense much like that of Goth. *andizuh*; cf., e. g., "*endr* annan veg en *\*endr*", "now one way, now another". Here ON *endr* obviously represents an absolute comparative 'sooner than usual' > 'now' (cf. NHG *bald*—*bald*). But the conception 'now—now' simply expresses in temporal terms the same idea as 'either—or', i. e., two possible alternatives.

#### VII. *Soh framaldra dage managaize*, L. 2, 36.

Streitberg<sup>10</sup> classifies the genitive *dage managaize* as a *genitive of time*. This classification is misleading inasmuch as the function of the genitive case here is not to express time (as, e. g., in *gistradagis* or in *dagis hwizuh* which Streitberg includes in the same category) but to qualify the adjective *framaldra*, i. e., 'progressed in age by many days' (cf. NHG *alt an Tagen*, Eng. *ancient of days*).

Behaghel<sup>11</sup> correctly designates this genitive as a "Gen. der Beziehung"; similarly Erdmann<sup>12</sup> "Als freiere Bestimmung zur Fixierung des Gebietes der Eigenschaft". Streitberg's inaccurate classification of the genitive *dage managaize* was no doubt due to the fact that *dage* 'of days' in itself denoted time.

#### VIII. Regarding Attraction of Mood in Dependent Clauses.

In regard to the use of the optative (=subjunctive) mood in temporal clauses (except when introduced by *faurpizei*) Streitberg says:<sup>13</sup> "Hie und da kann der Optativ des Temporalsatzes auch durch Angleichung an einen Optativ des übergeordneten

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Got. Elementarb.*,<sup>5-6</sup> § 267, 2: "Ein Genitiv der Zeit findet sich auch L. 2, 36 . . . ."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. O. Behaghel, *op. cit.*, I, § 399, A, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Erdmann, *op. cit.*, II, § 250.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, § 360, 2.

Satzes erklärt werden. Vgl. z. B. *þan taujais armaion, ni haurnjais faura þus* . . . M 6, 2, u. ö.<sup>14</sup>

Streitberg states no reason in support of this theory, simply because there is none. His interpretation seems to me based on appearances and therefore purely mechanistic.

We can not properly speak of an attraction ("Angleichung") of mood unless we may assume that the indicative mood would have been used in the temporal clause, had not the independent clause been in the optative. In that case the indicative mood in the temporal clause would have had reference to actual time and not implied any hypothetical coloring. But such is not the case, since the conjunction *þan* here obviously lends a hypothetical coloring (*þan taujais armaion* = "when (if) thou doest alms") and the fact that this temporal clause is attached to an optative (imperative) has no bearing on the question of modal attraction; cf. *ip þu þan bidjais, gagg in heþjon þeina*, Mat. 6, 6. If in the latter example there can be no possibility of modal attraction, why are we justified (as Streitberg contends) in assuming the possibility of such an attraction in the former case [*þan taujais armaion, ni haurnjais* . . .]?

The optative *taujais* (with hypothetical *þan*) in our sentence can not be explained as due to attraction to *ni haurnjais* any more than, e. g., in the sentence *warþ, biþe is anakumbida in garda is* (Mk. 2, 15) the indicative *anakumbida* ("when he was reclining", actual time) can be explained as due to attraction to the indicative *warþ* of the principal clause.

IX. *Bi biuhtja gudinnassaus hlauts imma urrann du saljan, atgaggands in alh frauþins* (κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱερατείας ἔλαχεν τοῦ θυμᾶσαι εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου), "According to the custom of the priest's office his lot was (lit. "the lot turned out for him") to burn incense, having gone into the temple of the Lord" (i. e., "to go into the temple of the Lord and burn incense"), L. 1, 9.

As Friedrichsen<sup>14</sup> points out, the Gothic *hlauts imma urrann du saljan* is no doubt a rendering of the Latin *sors exiit ut incensum poneret*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. G. W. S. Friedrichsen, *The Gothic Version of the Gospels* (London, 1926), pp. 174, 184-5, 194.

The Gothic infinitive of purpose *du saljan* renders the Latin purpose clause *ut incensum poneret*, whereas the corresponding Greek infinitive τοῦ θυμῆσαι represents a substantive usage; a partitive genitive object of ἔλαχεν ("he obtained by lot the burning of incense").

The use of the Gothic infinitive *du saljan* after *hlauts urrann* requires, unlike the Latin (*ut incensum poneret*), the addition of the dative pronoun *imma*<sup>15</sup> and we should therefore have expected in place of the nom. sing. *atgaggands*<sup>16</sup> the dat. sing. *\*atgaggandin* in agreement with the pronoun *imma*.

The nominative sing. form *atgaggands* must therefore be explained as an anacoluthon in conformity with the Lat. *ingressus* = Grk. εἰσελθὼν. This fact seems to have been overlooked by commentators.<sup>17</sup>

X. *Hairto auk galaubeiþ du garaihtipai, iþ munþa andhaitada du ganistai* (καρδία γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογείται εἰς σωτηρίαν), "For the heart believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation", Rom. 10, 10.

In the Greek both verbs are passive πιστεύεται = "he is believed", ὁμολογείται = "he is confessed"), in the Gothic the passive construction is preserved only in the second clause (*andhaitada* = ὁμολογείται).

There seems to be no syntactical reason why the Gothic scribe should not likewise have preserved the passive construction in the first clause, i. e., *\*hairtin auk \*galaubjada*<sup>18</sup> *du garaihtipai* = καρδία γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην. But the passive construction (especially with the so-called medio-passive verbs) was on the wane and evidently the Gothic scribe here felt the active construction as more suitable to the current idiom of his speech. But in rendering the Greek passive construction καρδία γὰρ

<sup>15</sup> Which, according to Friedrichsen (pp. 184-5) accounts for the *illi* of *e* (*sors illi exiit*), in the Latin portion of the Palatinian Bilingual.

<sup>16</sup> Otherwise *atgaggands* formally agrees with *hlauts*, not with *imma*.

<sup>17</sup> Neither Friedrichsen (*op. cit.*) nor Streitberg (*Got. Bibel*<sup>2</sup>; *Got. Elementarb.*<sup>5-6</sup> under *Syntax*, 164 ff.) comments on this construction.

<sup>18</sup> It is not necessary to preserve the dative rection in the passive voice; cf. Streitberg, *op. cit.*, § 241.

πιστεύεται by the active<sup>19</sup> *hairto auk galaubeiþ* ("for his heart believes") the Gothic scribe has mistranslated the original, for the thought of the Greek original is that "a man is believed by (what he feels in) his heart"<sup>20</sup> and not that "his heart believes".

Often a passive verb with indefinite subject is rendered in Gothic by an active verb, 3rd pers. plur. (cf. ἡκούσθη = *frehun* "it was heard" = "they heard", Mk. 2, 1). But if in this case \**galaubjand* had been used to render πιστεύεται (i. e., "they believe [him]" = "he is believed", cf. Germ. *man glaubt ihm*), the dative \**hairtin* would have had reference not to his believing but to their believing, i. e., \**hairtin auk \*galaubjand* "with their hearts they believe him" = "with their hearts he is believed".

Such a misinterpretation of \**hairtin* is, however, not possible with the active form *galaubeiþ*, 3rd pers. sing., i. e., \**hairtin auk galaubeiþ* "for with his heart he believeth", cf. Luther, "Denn so man von Herzen glaubt".

Evidently, however, the Gothic scribe avoided the dative construction in favor of the nominative *hairto auk galaubeiþ*, thereby personifying καρδιά so that in the poetic biblical phraseology *hairto* 'the heart' was equivalent in thought to 'one in his heart' (cf. *uzuh allis ufarfulleîn hairtins rodeid munþs is*, "For out of the abundance of his heart his mouth speaketh," L. 6, 45, where the same rhetorical figure is used, i. e., "his mouth speaketh" = "he speaks with his mouth").

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<sup>19</sup> There can be no question of Latin influence here; cf. *vg.* "Corde enim creditur ad justitiam", which is a literal rendering of the Greek.

Streitberg (*Got. Bibel*<sup>2</sup> under this passage) does not call attention to the discrepancy between the Gothic and the Greek idiom, nor does he quote this passage as an example of the substitution of the active voice for the Greek passive (*Got. Elementarb.*,<sup>5-6</sup> § 287).

<sup>20</sup> [EDITORIAL NOTE.—The author has evidently been lost in a maze. Both πιστεύεται and ὁμολογεῖται are here impersonal (cf. Blass-Debrunner, *Gram. d. NT Griech.*,<sup>4</sup> § 130, 1): 'credence is given' (with the heart), 'confession is made' (with the tongue). Hence, by a common personification, "the heart believeth" (so the AV), and 'the tongue confesseth' (which would have been an appropriate rendering).—C. W. E. M.]

## INCOMMENSURABLE NUMBERS AND THE *EPINOMIS*.

[A new interpretation of *Epinomis* 990 C-D is proposed.]

The belief has been generally held that Greek mathematics admitted incommensurable magnitudes, but not incommensurable numbers. This belief is completely in accord with the definitions of number which are preserved to us.<sup>1</sup> And Iamblichus, in *Nicomachi Arithmetica*, Pistelli, p. 91, says expressly: ἴδιον δὲ ἀριθμοῦ τὸ μηδὲ ἀσυμμετρίαν ἔχειν, τῶν μεγεθῶν ἐχόντων. The elaborate theory of quadratic surds in Euclid, *Elements* X, is purely geometrical.

Certain scholars, however, some probably inadvertently, without entire understanding of the issue, some with full knowledge, have found incommensurable numbers in the *Epinomis*. In the first group fall Ast and Stallbaum, together with Fr. W. Wagner, who translated Plato into German; in the second E. Hoppe,<sup>2</sup> John Burnet,<sup>3</sup> and A. E. Taylor.<sup>4</sup> Taylor's treatment is the most complete, and it is this that I wish to discuss.

The passage of the *Epinomis*, 900 C-D, which deals with mathematics, reads as follows: διὸ μαθημάτων δέον ἂν εἶη· τὸ δὲ μέγιστόν τε καὶ πρῶτον ἀριθμῶν αἰτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ σώματα ἐχόντων, ἀλλὰ ὅλης τῆς τοῦ περιττοῦ τε καὶ ἀρτίου γενέσεώς τε καὶ δυνάμεως, ὅσην παρέχεται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν. ταῦτα δὲ μαθόντι ταῦτοις ἐφεξῆς ἐστὶν ὁ καλοῦσι μὲν σφόδρα γελοῖον ὄνομα γεωμετρίαν, τῶν οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ὁμοίων ἀλλήλοις φύσει ἀριθμῶν ὁμοιώσεις πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπιπέδων μοῖραν γεγονυῖα ἐστὶ διαφανής . . . μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τοὺς τρεῖς ἡϋξημένους καὶ τῇ στερεᾷ φύσει ὁμοίους, τοὺς δὲ ἀνομοίους αὖ γεγονότας ἑτέρα τέχνη

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D'Ooge-Robbins-Karpinski, *Nicomachus of Gerasa, Introduction to Arithmetic*, pp. 111-115; T. L. Heath, *A Manual of Greek Mathematics*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> In *Mathematik und Astronomie im klassischen Altertum*, p. 143. It should be stated that Hoppe finds incommensurable numbers in Theaetetus 148 as well as in the *Epinomis*.

<sup>3</sup> In *Thales to Plato*, pp. 322-323. Burnet's position seems to resemble Hoppe's, but his discussion lacks in clarity.

<sup>4</sup> Taylor's fullest discussion is found in an article, *Forms and Numbers: A Study in Platonic Metaphysics*, published in *Mind*, 1926, pp. 419-440, and 1927, pp. 12-33; and in his *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, pp. 367-369.

ὁμοιοί, ταύτη γὰρ δὴ στερεομετρίαν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ προστυχεῖς αὐτῇ γεγονότες. This Taylor translates,<sup>5</sup> beginning with ταῦτα δὲ μαθόντι: "When a man has learned all this, next in order comes what is called ludicrously enough geometry (land-surveying) but it really is manifestly an assimilation of numbers which are not naturally similar to one another by having regard to area-numbers. (ἐπιπέδων is clearly, I think, here an adjective and means ἐπιπέδων ἀριθμῶν, numbers which are the product of two factors—the reference being to square numbers.)—And after this science we must study numbers of the third increase, which are like solids; and here again those which are dissimilar are assimilated by a second science—that which those who have hit upon it named stereometry." The text of the last sentence is, as Taylor says, uncertain, but this uncertainty, I believe, has little effect upon the meaning. I am willing to accept Taylor's translation, except in the case of ἐπιπέδων, which I think means geometrical surfaces, not area-numbers.<sup>6</sup> But what is of importance is his explanation: "The meaning is this: Two such 'numbers' as  $\sqrt{2}$  and  $\sqrt{3}$  are not 'naturally similar', they have no 'common measure', so that you can't even say from an examination of them as they stand whether they are equal, and if they are not, which is the greater. But multiply each by itself; then  $\sqrt{2} \times \sqrt{2} = 2$  and  $\sqrt{3} \times \sqrt{3} = 3$ , and 2 and 3 have a 'common measure' and can be compared. So you lay it down that if  $a > b$  then  $\sqrt{a} > \sqrt{b}$  and thus effect a comparison between two things which are not φύσει similar. . . . it is thus quite clear that the *Epinomis* regards both quadratic and cubic surds as numbers."<sup>7</sup>

What Taylor conceives to be the nature of the task which the *Epinomis* sets the mathematician, we see more clearly from his earlier article in *Mind*.<sup>8</sup> I quote or paraphrase:

<sup>5</sup> In *Commentary on the Timaeus*, p. 368.

<sup>6</sup> This was Taylor's opinion earlier; cf. *Mind*, 1926, p. 424.

<sup>7</sup> *Commentary on the Timaeus*, p. 368.

<sup>8</sup> Taylor's main object here is to use Plato's conjectured theory of incommensurable numbers to solve the difficulties in the doctrine of ideal numbers, attributed to Plato by Aristotle. I shall refrain here from any discussion of this latter subject. But obviously if Taylor's interpretation of the *Epinomis* is unsound, his explanation of the Aristotelian account of ideal numbers, resting as it does upon the interpretation of the *Epinomis*, falls to the ground.

"The astronomer will need in his calculations to manipulate surds," "to determine the value of irrational quadratic and cubic roots . . . with as close an approximation as his problems demand." "The theory of arithmetic will only be complete when we have learned how to give a numerical expression for  $\sqrt{2}$  and  $\sqrt[3]{2}$ —and thus, by the way, solved the 'Delian problem'—and have then proceeded to generalise a method for the evaluation of the rest of the quadratic and cubic 'irrationals'." "There was already in existence in the latter part of the fifth century a rule for making approximations to the value of  $\sqrt{2}$ , the rule to which Plato apparently alludes in *Rep.* 546 C, where he makes Socrates speak of 7 as the 'rational diameter of 5'," the rule which is given in *Theon of Smyrna*, Hiller, pp. 43 f., for finding successive pairs of side and diagonal numbers. The problem is to evaluate all quadratic surds by the same method which has proved successful in the case of  $\sqrt{2}$ , and cubic surds, too, by some analogous method, yet to be discovered.

Let us turn to the text of the *Epinomis*: τῶν οὐκ ὄντων δὲ ὁμοίων ἀλλήλοις φύσει ἀριθμῶν ὁμοίως πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἐπιπέδων μοῖραν. The decisive question is the meaning of ὁμοίων. Taylor, in agreement with certain older interpreters, takes the word in the sense of "commensurable". While we cannot demand that he show us a parallel, since he admits there is no other occurrence of the idea in antiquity, it would be well to see whether ὁμοιος is elsewhere used of number in any sense which would be intelligible here. Now we find that in various authors, *e. g.*, Euclid<sup>9</sup> and Theon of Smyrna,<sup>10</sup> the term is applied to groups of numbers which are the products of proportional factors, *i. e.*, perfect squares, perfect cubes, numbers such as 6 and 24, since  $6 = 2 \times 3$ ,  $24 = 4 \times 6$ , 24 and 192, since  $24 = 2 \times 3 \times 4$ ,  $192 = 4 \times 6 \times 8$ . If we take ὁμοιος in this sense in the *Epinomis*, we get the following result. A perfect square, *e. g.* 4, and 7 are not naturally similar, but we can make them similar by representing both as similar areas, *i. e.* by constructing a square the area of which is equal to 4, another square the area of which is equal to 7. The latter construction involves the

<sup>9</sup> *Elementa* VII, def. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Hiller, p. 38.

finding of the geometrical mean between a line of 1 unit of length and another line of 7 units of length, an operation perfectly familiar at that time.<sup>11</sup> It would be possible, also, to make 7 similar to 6, the latter represented as the area of a parallelogram with sides of 2 and 3 units of length.<sup>12</sup> The meaning of the passage is the same in both cases.<sup>13</sup>

While it is true that nowhere else in the Platonic corpus are similar numbers mentioned, we have no reason to believe that the concept was not existent even before Plato. Besides, it is logically involved in *Timaeus* 31-32, for the statement that between two surface-numbers one geometrical mean may be introduced, whereas between two solid numbers two means are necessary, is true, as Proclus points out, only if we take similar numbers.<sup>14</sup>

Let us turn now to the last sentence: μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τοὺς τρεῖς ἡϋξημένους καὶ τῇ στερεᾷ φύσει ὁμοίους· τοὺς δ' ἀνόμοιους αὖ γεγονότας ἑτέρα τέχνη ὁμοιοῖ, ταύτη ἣν δὴ στερεομετρίαν ἐκάλεσαν οἱ προστυχεῖς αὐτῇ γεγονότες. The text is uncertain, and perhaps there would be difficulties even if we were sure what the author wrote. Yet the general sense, I think, is fairly clear. Obviously numbers of the third increase which are similar to solids are the products of three factors. But what is the meaning of τοὺς ἀνόμοιους? Numbers which are unlike solids, such as prime and surface-numbers, or numbers which are unlike particular solid numbers, or numbers, treated as solid, which are unlike each other? While the phrasing seems at first to favor the first interpretation, this is plainly impossible, for there is no difficulty in making any number similar to a solid, since  $5 = 1 \times 1 \times 5$ ; so in the

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Theaetetus 147-8, where it is presupposed; Aristotle, *De anima* 413 a 17; *Met.* 996 b 2.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Euclid, *Elementa* VI, 25.

<sup>13</sup> The operation is, of course, much simpler if we make a number similar to a perfect square; and the passage of the Theaetetus, cited above, makes it probable that this is what Plato had in mind. It is perhaps worth while to quote Iamblichus in *Nicomachi arithmetica*, Pistelli, p. 32, ll. 10-12: οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ ταύτους τε καὶ ὁμοίους αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς τετραγώνους ἀριθμούς) ἐκάλουν.

<sup>14</sup> Taylor thinks that Plato has in mind in this passage square and cubic numbers; he fails to mention the possibility of other similar numbers, for which cf. Proclus in *Timaeum* II, 30.



Theaetetus 5 is treated as an oblong number (*ἐτερομήκης*) and it is implied that it can be treated as a solid number, too. The second and third interpretations amount to one and the same thing, making a number similar, in the sense we have defined, to a given solid number. The simplest thing is to assume that the number is to be made similar to a cubic number, just as in the sentence above it was simplest to assume that a number, not naturally square, was to be made similar to a square number. The geometrical construction involved is that of a cube the volume of which is 5, say, cubic units.

With this interpretation, which rests upon the only meaning that *ὅμοιος* is ever found to have when applied to number, the passage of the *Epinomis* says substantially the same thing that is said in the *Theaetetus*. Nothing is said in either work of incommensurable numbers. The fact that the area of a square was 5 square units, and could represent the number 5 does not seem to have suggested to the Greek mind the possibility of supposing that the incommensurable side of this square represented a number. That the ratio of an incommensurable magnitude and a commensurable could be approximated indefinitely by a succession of ratios of integers, they knew. But they did not take the further step of admitting incommensurables as numbers.

If Taylor's interpretation is right, the task of the geometer according to the author of the *Epinomis* was the approximation of quadratic and cubic surds by successions of ratios, analogous to the ratios of side and diagonal numbers for  $\sqrt{2}$ . If that was his program for mathematical research, it was destined to a lamentable failure. There is no sure proof that this method was ever used to approximate any other quadratic surd,<sup>15</sup> and, as Taylor says, it is impossible in the case of cubic surds.<sup>16</sup>

That there is a reference to the Delian problem, the dupli-

<sup>15</sup> The approximations to  $\sqrt{3}$  in Archimedes are best explained by the use of certain formulae; cf. Heath, *Manual of Greek Mathematics*, pp. 309-310.

<sup>16</sup> Successive application of Hero's probable formula for the extraction of cube roots would give a series of approximations, but this would not, of course, be analogous to side and diagonal numbers; for this formula cf. Heath, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

cation of the cube, in the last sentence of our passage, I think most likely. But the solution desired is geometrical, not arithmetical. Three mathematicians associated with Plato—Archytas, Eudoxus, and Menaechmus—gave geometrical solutions;<sup>17</sup> we hear nothing in this connection of the extraction of the cube root of 2.

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Heath, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 ff.

#### FOUR OLD PERSIAN ETYMOLOGIES.

Thanks to the labours of Father Scheil and of Professors Benveniste and Kent,<sup>1</sup> the text and the interpretation of the newly discovered Achaemenian inscriptions at Susa may be regarded as practically settled. The form *dačaram* (Dar. Sus. 4<sup>3</sup>) beside *tačaram* (Dar. Pers. a<sup>6</sup>) = Elamitic *tazzaram* (New Persian *tačar* 'winter house, storehouse', Arabic *tažar* 'summer house', Armenian *tačar* 'temple, palace'<sup>2</sup>) is quite obscure; in view of our total ignorance of the etymology of the word, it may possibly have been borrowed in Old Persian, thus accounting for the alternation *t/d*.<sup>3</sup> The form *frašta* (Dar. Sus. a<sup>5</sup>; 7<sup>6</sup>; 11<sup>5</sup>)<sup>4</sup> rather than *\*frašata*, evidently connected with Old Persian *frašam* (Charter 56), Avesta *fraša-* 'turned toward, well-fitted, excellent', seems to be of the type of Avesta *sarəta-*: Sanskrit *śī-śīr-a-* 'cold'.<sup>5</sup>

The tree-name *θaramiš* (Charter 30)<sup>6</sup> = Babylonian *erīnu* (21) 'cedar' may evidently be referred to an Indo-European base *\*k<sup>e</sup>/o<sup>e</sup>/om-i-*, of which the normal-zero grade would be *\*k<sup>e</sup>/om-i-*, so that a better reading of the Old Persian word would seem to be *θarmiš*. Apparently it is cognate with Lithuanian *šermūkšlė*, *šermūkšnė*, *šermūkšnis* 'mountain ash' < *\*šermūk-uš-*<sup>7</sup>, Lettish *šërmauksis* beside *cërmaũkša*<sup>8</sup>, Slovene

<sup>1</sup> V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides à Suse*, Paris, 1929; E. Benveniste, 'Nouvelles inscriptions achéménides', in *BSLP* xxx (1930), 58-67; R. Kent, 'The Recently Published Old Persian Inscriptions', in *JAOS* li (1931), 189-240 (also issued as a Special Publication of the Linguistic Society of America).

<sup>2</sup> H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, 251, Strasbourg, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> In Elamitic script, *t* stands for both *t* and *d*, e. g. Elamitic *tikrakauta* = Old Persian *tigraxauda-* 'with pointed hat'.

<sup>4</sup> Benveniste, p. 64; Kent, p. 216.

<sup>5</sup> K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, II, i, 411-413, Strasbourg, 1906.

<sup>6</sup> Scheil, p. 27; Kent, p. 205.

<sup>7</sup> R. Trautmann, *Baltisch-slavisches Wörterbuch*, p. 128, Göttingen, 1923.

<sup>8</sup> K. Mühlenbach (ed. J. Endzelin), *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, i, 410; iii, 829-830, Riga, 1923 sqq.

*srēmša*, *srēmša* beside *črēmša*, etc.<sup>9</sup> The group in general<sup>10</sup> seems originally to have meant 'red', whether, as in the case of the mountain ash, because of red berries, or, as in the case of the cedar, because of the colour of its wood; and it appears to be cognate with the group of Lithuanian *šarmuō*, *šermuō* 'ermine', Old High German *harro* 'weasel', so named because of the redness of its summer coat.<sup>11</sup> The group as a whole shows Indo-European *q* beside *k*, unless, indeed, one may assume two groups, *\*k<sup>e</sup>/o<sup>e</sup>/om-* and *\*q<sup>e</sup>/o<sup>e</sup>/om-*, which, originally distinct, subsequently became confused.

The word *yakā* (Charter 34)<sup>12</sup> is rendered in the Babylonian version (24) by *miš]makan*, which is elsewhere defined as *išši dāram* 'durable wood'.<sup>13</sup> The Indo-European base would be *\*i<sup>e</sup>/oq-*, of which *yak-* is the normal grade. The zero grade would be *\*iq-*, which seems to occur in Greek *ἱκρίον* 'mast' (usually in the plural *ἱκρία* 'half-deck, platform, stage, scaffolding, theatre-benches'), so that the meaning of the Old Persian word would be 'timber' rather than 'oak', as proposed by Scheil and Kent.<sup>14</sup>

The obscure *sikaba*[+]*uda* (Charter 37-38) = Babylonian *širgarū* (26)<sup>15</sup> 'serpentine' (?) may be referred to a base *\*keueiq-*, of which the double-zero grade would be *\*kuiq-*. This base *\*keueiq-* itself appears to be an extension of *\*keue(i)-* 'shine, be bright', with a normal-zero grade *\*keuq-*. Old Persian *sika-* would then be cognate with Sanskrit *śuc-* 'gleam,

<sup>9</sup> E. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, i, 145, Heidelberg, 1908 sqq.; T. Torbiörnsson, *Gemeinslavische Liquidametathese*, ii, 12-14, Upsala, 1901-03; cf. also O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*<sup>2</sup>, ii, 421-422, Berlin, 1917-29. For various other suggested cognates (at best highly problematical), see W. Stokes, *Urkeltscher Sprachschatz*, p. 91, Göttingen, 1894; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, p. 488, Paris, 1916.

<sup>10</sup> Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, i, 426-427, Berlin, 1926 sqq.

<sup>11</sup> Walde-Pokorny, i, 463 (otherwise Trautmann, p. 300).

<sup>12</sup> Scheil, p. 28; Benveniste, p. 61; Kent, p. 206.

<sup>13</sup> S. Langdon, in *JRAS* 1929, p. 379.

<sup>14</sup> Connexion of *ἱκρίον* with Old Prussian *yceroy*, Old Lithuanian *ikras*, Russian *ikrá*, etc. 'calf of the leg' (references in Walde-Pokorny, i, 206) seems much less probable.

<sup>15</sup> Scheil, p. 29; Kent, p. 207.

glow, burn', *šukrā-* 'bright, resplendent', Avesta *saočant-* 'burning', *suwra-* 'red' (\**kuq-*, \**keuq-*); Avesta *savahī* 'eastern area', Sanskrit *śvabh* 'to-morrow' (\**keu-*, \**ku-*), *śubhrā-* 'radiant, beautiful', (\**ku-bh-*), *śvetā-* 'white' (\**keui-t-*), etc.<sup>16</sup> In *-ba-* one may see the formative *-bho-*, used especially to designate colours or animals;<sup>17</sup> and the final component may conjecturally be restored as [*xa*]uda- 'hat, helmet', so that *sikabaxauda-* would mean 'bright-hooded creature', and would designate some sort of serpent.

The word *marda-* occurs in Bh. v, 11 in the line *pasāva ga[ubar]uva [ūvañiyā] aṣa utā daiy mardā<sup>h</sup> utā [tyamśām] maṭ-[īṣtam] agarbāya*, etc. 'then Gaubaruva smote the Elamites, and to him there was a . . . , and he seized their leader', etc. It seems a little surprising that no one has proposed a connexion between Old Persian *marda-* and the group of Armenian *mart* 'war, battle, combat', Sanskrit *mard-*, Avesta *marəd-* 'destroy', Greek ἀμείρω 'deprive', etc.,<sup>18</sup> so that the meaning of *marda-* would be something like 'crushing victory'.

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<sup>16</sup> Walde-Pokorny, i, 368, 378, 469-470.

<sup>17</sup> Brugmann, II, i, 386-390.

<sup>18</sup> Walde-Pokorny, ii, 278-279.

## TACITUS AND THE *SPECULUM PRINCIPIS*.

In the year 25 A. D. the province of Hither Spain asked permission to erect a temple to Tiberius and his mother. The emperor, averse to divine honors, voiced his refusal and stated his general policy in what Tacitus designates as "a speech of the following character (*huiusce modi orationem*)."<sup>1</sup> The sentiments beyond doubt were those of Tiberius, but the expression *huiusce modi* indicates that the content is an approximation, the sort of speech he delivered, while the actual words and figures of speech are the creations of the historian.<sup>1</sup>

Tiberius, after asserting that he is a mere mortal, is represented as addressing the senators in these terms: "Posterity will bestow upon my memory enough and more than enough if they believe me worthy of my ancestors, careful of your interests, steadfast in dangers, and fearless of giving offense in behalf of the public welfare. *These [virtues] will be my temples in your minds, these the most beautiful likenesses and ones which will endure*; for those which are constructed of stone are despised as tombs only, if the judgment of posterity turns to hatred."<sup>2</sup>

Tacitus' contemporary, Plutarch, had a definite opinion concerning superhuman honors for rulers,<sup>3</sup> and his ideas which are pertinent to the present discussion may be adumbrated as follows: Excessive honors are often given through constraint and arouse hatred;<sup>4</sup> divine names and temples, when given to mortals, quickly perish,<sup>5</sup> and such adulation should be spurned, but praise for incorruptibility, wisdom, and prudence sought.<sup>6</sup> These qualities which Plutarch extols go hand in hand with virtue, and a just ruler has no need of a sculptor, for his virtue makes him into the closest likeness to God.<sup>7</sup> It is virtue alone

<sup>1</sup> See L. R. Taylor, "Tiberius' Refusals of Divine Honors", *T.A.P.A.* lx (1929), p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, IV, 38, 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> See Scott, "Plutarch and the Ruler Cult", *T.A.P.A.* lx (1929), pp. 117-135.

<sup>4</sup> *Demetrius* 30, 4-5 and *Mor.* 820 F.

<sup>5</sup> *Mor.* 360 A-D.

<sup>6</sup> *Mor.* 543 D.

<sup>7</sup> "Discourse to an Unlearned Prince", *Mor.* 780 E.

which can deify, not the decree of a city (οὐ νόμος πόλεως),<sup>8</sup> and of that divinity to which rulers aspire Plutarch says, "It is thought to excel in three points, in incorruptibility, in might, and in virtue, while of the three even the most holy and godlike is virtue."<sup>9</sup>

With the words of Tacitus and Plutarch is to be confronted a passage found in Dio Cassius under the year 29 B. C., where he has inserted in his narrative two speeches, one by Agrippa advising Octavian to reject the monarchy and the other by Maecenas urging him to accept it. Both speeches are, of course, concoctions of the historian, or possibly in part of one of his sources.

Maecenas' discourse, a veritable *speculum principis*, touches upon the question of divine honors and bids Octavian permit no unusual or prodigal honor from the senate or any person. "For", continues Dio, "honor from you brings glory to others, but upon yourself nothing greater may be bestowed than what you already possess, while great *suspicion of insincerity* would be attached to the bestowal."

After some expatiation upon this "suspicion" Dio advises Octavian to eschew gold and silver statues which "invite destruction and are of *short duration*." Rather should he "fashion other statues in the very hearts (ψυχᾶς) of men by benefactions, statues which do not tarnish and which last forever." Nor should Octavian ever allow a temple to be erected to himself, "for from temples no glory is gained; but virtue (ἀρετή) makes demigods of many, while no one was ever elected a god by *show of hands*."<sup>10</sup> Hence, if Octavian is good and rules well, "*all the earth will be his precincts, all cities his temples, and all men his statues, for in their thoughts (γνώμῃς) he will be enshrined with glory*." For bad rulers, on the other hand, such divine honors are merely memorials of their injustice."<sup>11</sup>

From what has been shown above it seems that Tacitus' language and figures of speech are part of a tradition evidently

<sup>8</sup> *Romulus*, 28, 8.

<sup>9</sup> *Aristides*, 6, 2; cf. *Mor.* 543 D.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Dio, lxxiv, 14, 2a: It is virtue which preserves the memory of rulers.

<sup>11</sup> lli, 35.

common to writers of advice to princes. It is to be noted that Plutarch wrote an essay entitled "A Discourse to an Unlearned Prince" (cited above), that he delivers considerable advice about divine honors there and elsewhere, and that his works themselves were in later centuries the *pièce de résistance* in the education of rulers, while in the speeches of Agrippa and Maecenas Dio Cassius has written two such "discourses" to fit into his history.

Tacitus, like both Plutarch and Dio, makes virtue the real basis for deification, and, like Dio, he indicates that apotheosis may take place only in the hearts of a prince's subjects. By implication he likewise agrees with the other two writers that popular vote (Dio's χειροτονητός and Plutarch's νόμῳ πόλεως) cannot make a ruler into a god. That there are other examples of this traditional advice to rulers, both earlier and later, is more than likely, but the sameness of ideas and even of figures of speech in Tacitus, Plutarch and Dio should be sufficient to establish the discourse cited from Tacitus as derived from a commonplace of the *speculum principis*.

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## REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, LXXVIII (1929), Heft 1-2.

Pp. 1-25. Ernst Maass, Heilige Steine. Examination of passages, the greater part of them from Pausanias and Hesychius, where the worship of such stones is mentioned, and attempted explanations of the origins and meanings of the names applied to them.

Pp. 26-34. Leo Weber, Nachträgliches zu Androgeos. I. Discussion of the personality, the work attributed to him, the *floruit*, and the correct form of the name of the Melesagoras from whom Hesychius (*s. v. ἐπ' Εὐρυγύμνῳ ἀγών*) derived his information about Androgeos. II. A consideration of certain features of the Theseus-Androgeos legend, as found in Plutarch's *Theseus*, in which there seem to inhere some traces of Attic tradition. III. Discussions of different versions of the story of the tribute of the seven youths and maidens sent to Crete, and of Minos' punitive expedition to Attica. IV. Discussion of the tradition as to the color of the sails of Theseus' vessel.

Pp. 35-53. Dietrich Mülher, Götteranrufungen in Ilias und Odyssee. An examination of the formulas used in addressing deities, particularly those that are repetitive.

Pp. 54-57. C. Fries, Homerische Beiträge (Zu  $\Xi$  225 sqq.). Hera's flight is not direct, but, for the most part, over the land. The poet, perhaps unconsciously, assigns to the goddess his own fear of the sea. The early mariner was limited to a coasting voyage, and the poet sees the flight of Hera through the eyes of such a mariner. The same realism influences the passage dealing with the flight of Hermes in *Od.* 5, 43 ff.

Pp. 58-67. Konrat Ziegler, Der Ursprung der Exkurse im Thukydides. The so-called digressions in Thucydides, viz. the Archaeologia, the Pentecontaetia, the story of Cylon, etc. are probably topics investigated by Thucydides before he began to write his history of the war, rather than 'parerga' of the work itself. Thucydides was quite probably interested in historical investigation at an early age. Whether these digressions would have survived a final revision by the author remains an unanswered question.

Pp. 68-80. A. Röhlecke, Polyeukt wider Euxenipp. Discussion of the grounds of Polyeuctus' hatred of Euxenippus and of certain difficulties of interpretation in Hypereides' oration *ὑπὲρ Εὐξενίππου εἰσαγγελίας ἀπολογία πρὸς Πολύεукτον*.

Pp. 81-104. S. Luria, Entstellungen des Klassikertextes bei

Stobaios. An analysis of the sources of corruption in the text of Stobaeus' quotations of the classical authors together with a discussion of a considerable number of such passages.

Pp. 105-112. MISZELLEN.

Pp. 105-111. P. Groebe, Zur Erklärung Ciceronis Briefe. 1. *ad Att.* XIII 40, 1. Punctuate: *Itane? Nuntiat Brutus illum ad bonos viros?* Groebe prefers Tunstall's *Hic autem—Ut stultum est!* to the conjectures of Schmidt, Tyrrell, and Gurlitt. The words '*in Parthenone*' must refer to the original Parthenon in Athens. It is possible that amphorae with representations on them of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were carried in procession, and, after the festival, deposited in the Parthenon. Cicero may have seen one of these and, with thought of tyrannicide in his mind, alludes to the pair with the words '*Ah! tam et Brutum.*' Such an allusion is quite in the Ciceronian manner. 2. *ad Q. fr.* II 13 (15a), 1. The text stands in no need of emendation. Cicero received two letters from his brother; the first from Placentia on June 2nd; the second from Blandeno, together with one from Caesar, on June 3rd. Blandeno is probably the modern Biandronno on Lago di Varese.

Pp. 112. W. Morel, Tacitus Agricola 28. For *uno remigante* read *uno repugnante* (causal).

Pp. 113-123. Otto Immisch, Wirklichkeit und Literaturform. Discussion of certain fictions of the dialogue form, and, in particular, of devices for disguising the mnemonic improbability of long narrated dialogues. Certain of these devices seem almost to develop into literary *motifs*. Many examples are cited, but special consideration is given to Cicero's *Topica* and Photius' *Bibliotheca*.

Pp. 124-143. Felix Bölte, Zu lakonischen Festen. 1. Gymnopaïdien. 2. Parparonia. 3. Hyakinthien. 4. Karneien. An attempt to assemble from literary and inscriptional evidence new information about these festivals with regard to the order of events, the number of days in the festival, the month in which the festival was held, who the participants in the various contests were, etc.

Pp. 144-147. C. Fries, Homerische Beiträge. It is true that in ancient Greece we find no absolute monarch of the oriental type. However, at an earlier period the situation must have been different, and the traces of this earlier state of affairs are to be seen between the lines in the autocratic attitude of Agamemnon toward Achilles in the first book of the *Iliad*.

Pp. 148-165. Emanuel Loew, Das Lehrgedicht des Parmenides. Outline of the poem and an analysis of its reasoning.

Pp. 166-170. U. Hoefel, Zu Sophokles. 1. Zur Elektra (444-446). Two insults to the dead body of Agamemnon are spoken of (*ἐμασχαλίσθη* and *κάρα κηλίδας ἐξέμαξεν*). The first had been already mentioned by Aeschylus (*Cho.* 427). It is possible that Sophocles had in mind the customs attributed to the Scythians by Herodotus (4, 62 *τοὺς δεξιὸν ὤμους πάντας ἀποτάμνοντες σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ . . .*; 4, 64 the use of the scalp of an enemy as *χειρόμακτρον*). There is no necessity in the second case that the word *ἐξέμαξεν* have any referen<sup>de</sup> to an act of religious atonement. 2. Zum Phineus. In Stephanus of Byzantium (*s. v.* *Σήσαμον*) we find *Σήσαμον: πόλις Παφλαγονίας ἐν ᾗ ὤκησεν ὁ πρῶτος Φινεύς*. The *ὁ πρῶτος Φινεύς* (in spite of Meineke's proposed emendations) refers to the 'erste Phineus' of Sophocles, and in Sesamon the scene of the play was probably laid.

Pp. 171-187. Ernst Howald, Eustathios und der Venetus A. Howald subscribes to the view of L. Cohn (Pauly-Wissowa *s. v.* Eustathios) that the most important source of Eustathius' commentary on the *Iliad* was a single MS. exceedingly rich in scholia. Howald examines various scholia in comparison with Eustathius in order to afford additional support to this theory as against Max Neumann (Jahns Jahrbücher Suppt. XX S. 180 f.). According to Howald, Venetus A and its predecessor, the MS. of Eustathius, were 'Mischcodices' composed of the two classes BT and D together with the scholia of the 'Quartet'.

Pp. 188-198. Walther Schwahn, Zu IG. II 160 (Philipps Landfrieden). IG. II 160 (= Dittenberger, Sylloge I<sup>3</sup> 260a) contains the oath given by the Greeks to Philip's covenant of peace in 338/7. Part of the inscription is missing, and it is evident that in addition to the first column there was a second, of which there remain only a few letters from the first part of a few of the missing lines. Schwahn attempts to restore the missing part of the inscription. His restored text is given in full.

Pp. 199-212. Wilhelm Ensslin, Dalmatius Censor, der Halbbruder Konstantins I. The Dalmatius who was consul in 333 was not Dalmatius, the nephew of Constantine, and son of Dalmatius the Censor [as Chronicon Paschale (ed. Bonn) 531, 19 ff.], but the Censor himself, the half brother of Constantine. It is not probable that either Dalmatius was a *magister militum* as Ernst Stein (Geschichte des Spät<sup>r</sup>ömischen Reichs I 187 A. 1) believes.

Pp. 213-224. MISZELLEN.

Pp. 213-215. Johannes Th. Kakridis, Zu den Aëdon- und Inosagen. A correction of C. Robert's interpretation (Arch. Hermeneutik pp. 264 f.; Gr. Heldensage I 125) of a red-figured drinking vessel [Münchener Vasensamml. Nr. 2638; J. H. S. 8

(1887), 400] used by him in reconstructing the myth of Aëdon and Itylus. In the *Ino* of Euripides, the plot of which is given by Hyginus, Robert (Arch. Hermeneutik pp. 265 f.; Gr. Helden-sage I 49 Anm. 4) thinks the change of garments, the device whereby the wife of Athamas is led to slay her own children instead of those of Ino, was an innovation of Euripides. Kakridis thinks it was taken over by the poet from a store of similar plots in the 'Märchen', and cites a modern Greek story where the device is employed.

Pp. 215-218. Eduard Schwyzer, Zur griechischen Epigraphik und Dialektologie. 1. Nöchmals zur ersten Tafel von Herakleia. Additional evidence for Schwyzer's conjecture [*Rhein. Mus.* 77 (1928), 236] καθὼς καὶ τὼς λοιπὼς γέγραπται for καθὼς καὶ τὼς λοιπὼς . . . in line 169 of this inscription (IG. XIV 645). 2. Lakon. HATEHIAAΣ. Émile Bourguet [*Le dialecte Laconien = Collection linguistique XXIII* 9 (Paris 1927)] says that the form Αγηήλας is not found, but only the form with intervocalic σ, Ἀγησίλαος. Schwyzer points to HATEHIAAΣ found on a fragment of a marble slab published by E. Fiechter [*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäolog. Instituts* 33 (1918), 222 f. (Nr. 10, Abb. 85)].

Pp. 218-219. Ernst Maass, Stimichon. In *Ecl.* 5, 55 Vergil wrote either *Misichon* (*Misichon*) or *Simichon* (*Simichon*) and not *Stimichon*.

Pp. 219-220. A. Sizoo, Mures molas lingunt. Sizoo is dissatisfied with the explanation by F. Dornseiff [*Rhein. Mus.* 77 (1928), 221-224] of the words "*mures molas lingunt*" (Seneca *Apocolocyntosis*, chap. 8). The expression is not proverbial. In ancient times, when each kitchen had its mill, the mice undoubtedly made free with the particles of meal left on the millstones. So the expression is as trite as if one were to say, "At Rome horses have four feet," and is no ground for the appointment of Claudius *curva corrigere*.

Pp. 220-221. Hugo Koch, Zu Ps.-Tertullian *De execrandis gentium diis*. Ernst Bickel [*Rhein. Mus.* 76 (1927), 412] and Harnack (*Chronologie d. altchr. Litt.*, 2, 288 Anm.) employ the words in Sec. 7: *caeteras eius (sc. Iovis) corruptelas . . . nolo scribere, ne rursus foeditas iam sepulta renovetur* to prove that the work was composed after the time of Constantine. Koch denies that there is any reference here to political change.

Pp. 221-223. Erik Peterson, Die Bedeutung der ὡκεανέ—Akklamation. Peterson quotes a passage from Ioannes Chrysostomus (Περὶ κενοδοξίας καὶ ὅπως δεῖ τοὺς γονεῖς ἀνατρέφειν τὰ τέκνα) to illustrate the use of the 'ὡκεανέ—Akklamation' (Pap. Oxy. 41; 1305; 1413; Pap. Hermop. 7 I. 8). In this passage, for his

exceptional *φλοτιμία*, a public benefactor is compared by the people to the Nile and even to the ocean. Peterson thinks that this is undoubtedly a literary example of a usage found elsewhere only in the papyri.

Pp. 223-224. Fridericus Marx, *Critica hermeneutica*. I. To supplement his treatment (Plaut. *Rud.* pp. 206 ff.) on the superstition with regard to the number seven in the Bacchic rites of Attica, Marx calls attention to the fact that on the famous Dionysus cylix by Execias (Furt. and Reich. I, Pl. 42) there appear seven dolphins, seven bunches of grapes, and that there are seven leaves on each of the two branches at the left. The two branches at the right are represented as not fully developed. II. In Soph. *Ichneut.* 302 f. (Pears.) for  $\upsilon - \upsilon - \upsilon$   $\lambda\omicron$ . . .  $\omicron\rho\epsilon\upsilon\eta\gamma$   $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}$  ( $\nu$   $\delta$ )  $\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa[\rho\epsilon]$   $\omega\upsilon\upsilon$  read  $\langle\phi\omega\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\rangle$   $\nu\phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\gamma\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$   $\delta\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$ .

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ROMANIA, Vol. LV (1929), janvier-octobre.

Pp. 1-16. E. Hoepffner. Chrétien de Troyes et Thomas d'Angleterre. The *Roman de Tristan* had a more profound and more lasting influence on Chrétien de Troyes than any other contemporary work. But it has long been a debatable question whether the romance in the version given us by Thomas was the source or a derivative of the legend as found in the works of Chrétien. After a careful examination of this question the author of the present article decides in favor of the latter hypothesis.

Pp. 17-44. Louis Brandin. Nouvelles recherches sur Fouke Fitz Warin. This very complex Anglo-French prose work gives rise to many literary questions: it is evidently a reworking of an earlier poem on the subject; indeed, there are both a French and an English poem to be taken into consideration in this connection. The result of this investigation is that the Anglo-French source was probably written in Shropshire about the middle of the thirteenth century.

Pp. 45-112. Lucien-Paul Thomas. Les strophes et la composition du Sponsus (textes latin et roman). After a very lengthy investigation the conclusion is here reached that the Sponsus is to be considered as the corner-stone for the study of the French drama in its origins in that it is based on the well-tried technique of its Latin antecedent.

Pp. 113-124. Mélanges. Pp. 125-140. Comptes rendus. Pp. 141-152. Périodiques. Pp. 153-160. Chronique.

Pp. 161-173. Ch. Samaran. Fragment d'une traduction en

prose française du Psautier composée en Angleterre au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. In addition to the well-known texts of Oxford and Cambridge, there appear to have been independent French versions. A short fragment of such a version has been preserved in the Archives départementales de l'Orne; it is here published in a critical edition with the corresponding passages of the versions mentioned above in parallel columns.

Pp. 174-194. Eugène Anitchkof. *Le Saint Graal et les rites eucharistiques*. The attitude of the early Christians, of the Provençal troubadours and of Chrétien de Troyes towards the Grail legend are here analyzed at some length, and a comparison is made with the views of other less well-known authors. The Grail legend is that of the redemption mystically repeated and symbolized by the eucharist.

Pp. 195-213. Albert Pauphilet. *Eneas et Énée*. As a means of comparison of the poetic methods of the Medieval writer with those of Virgil the author here takes the Carthage episode as the basis for his investigation. Just as the older poet had Romanized his account of Carthage, so the later author Medievalized his model as a matter of course.

Pp. 214-250. V. Chichmaref. *Notes sur quelques œuvres attribuées au Roi René*. In addition to various works whose attribution to this mediocre author of the fifteenth century is practically certain, there exists quite a number of others the authorship of which is highly problematical. A detailed investigation of many of these is here made, and more definite conclusions are reached in various instances than had hitherto been possible to the many scholars who have studied his life and works during the past century.

Pp. 251-265. *Mélanges*. Pp. 266-286. *Comptes rendus*. Pp. 287-308. *Périodiques*. Pp. 309-320. *Chronique*.

Pp. 321-331. J. Anglade. *Notes sur le manuscrit Palat. 586 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Florence*. This Provençal manuscript of the fourteenth century contains a translation of the French *Dits des Philosophes*, followed by a Provençal herbal in which the miniatures are especially fine.

Pp. 332-381. A. T. Baker. *La vie de Saint Edmond, archevêque de Cantorbéry*. The only manuscript known to contain this famous biography belongs to the Duke of Portland. It is evidently translated and adapted from the Latin life preserved in a Cottonian manuscript. A critical edition of the text is here given with considerable detail of foot-note.

Pp. 382-400. Ivor Arnold. *Notice sur un manuscrit de la traduction des Annales du Hainaut de Jacques de Guise par Jean Wauquelin (Brit. Mus. Lansdowne 214)*. This manuscript

once belonged to the celebrated booklover Charles de Croy, and its history is readily traced down to the British Museum. The work first to be transcribed is the subject of the present article, and it affords a very good opportunity to observe the methods followed by the official writers at the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century.

Pp. 401-410. Ch. Samaran. Lectures sous les rayons ultra-violets. Chanson de Roland (manuscrit d'Oxford). This new method of examining manuscripts has enabled the writer of this article to add a little to the results previously obtained by the painstaking labors of Professors Stengel and Bédier.

Pp. 411-468. Émile Roy. Les poèmes français relatifs à la Première croisade. Le poème de 1356 et ses sources. This posthumous publication was intended to form the introduction and the first few chapters of an extensive work on the subject. Of the many romances and poems then written, that which reworks all the earlier poems on the *Chevalier au Cygne* stands out most prominently. Synopses of various other poems of this cycle are likewise analyzed in this long article.

Pp. 469-481. Al. Graur. Questions latino-roumaines. I. Sur le traitement roumain de l'U bref latin. II. A propos de l'article postposé. Chronological questions are of importance when discussing the development of the Roumanian language, as is here demonstrated in the two special cases chosen.

Pp. 482-527. Edmond Faral. L' "Historia regum Britanniae" de Geoffroy de Monmouth à propos d'une édition récente. This work has been preserved in about two hundred manuscripts, and has in recent years been edited both by M. Edmond Faral and by Mr. Acton Griscom. I. Histoire du texte de l' "Historia regum Britanniae." II. Rapports de l' "Historia regum Britanniae" avec les "Bruts" gallois. The manuscripts may be divided into four main groups according to their dedications. But the several editors disagree as to the relative position of these groups and their importance in the constitution of a critical text. In approaching the question of the *Brut* versions the complications and divergencies of opinion increase as the attempt is made to decide upon the relation existing between the two closely allied texts, the latter extant in some sixty manuscripts. M. Edmond Faral deems Geoffrey of Monmouth's text to have been the original, but believes the archaeological evidence that has been adduced to be of doubtful value.

Pp. 528-560. Mélanges. Pp. 561-579. Comptes rendus. Pp. 580-594. Périodiques. Pp. 595-606. Chronique. Pp. 607-615. Index des mots. Pp. 616-624. Table des matières.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

MNEMOSYNE 59 (1931), parts 1 and 2.

Pp. 1-102. J. G. P. Borleffs, *Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani de Baptismo ad fidem codicis Trecensis veterumque editionum*. An edition comprising preface; sigla; text with dual notes at foot of pages, scriptural references and MS readings; index scripturarum; index nominum; index verborum.

Pp. 103-131. K. Sprey, *De C. Sallustio Crispo homine populari*. Suas. 2, 4, 2, for *at herculem Catonem* read *at hercule incassum*. The epistle is genuine, and was written before no. 1. The author gives his interpretation of Sallust's character and motives.

Pp. 132-164. W. J. W. Koster, *De accentibus excerpta ex Choerobosco, Aetherio, Philopono, aliis*. The author believes that Aetherius is a proper name and not an epithet of Choeroboscus. He lists 60 canons on accentuation, noting some variations between the excerpts.

Pp. 165-183. W. E. J. Kuiper, *De Menandri Adulatore*. The two houses in the stage setting are inhabited by Phidias and Ieno, respectively. The character colax is known to different people by different names, Gnatho and Struthias.

Pp. 184-215. J. D. Meerwaldt, *De communi in Priamum et Troiam epilogo*. An interpretation of Aeneid 2, 554-558; the author rejects that of Servius; *truncus* is Pergama, not Priam. The author then analyzes the vowel distribution within the lines.

Pp. 216-237. A. J. Kronenberg, *Ad Plutarchi Moralia*. Textual emendation of 44 passages.

P. 238. F. Muller, J. fil., *Propertii Carmen* 4, 11, 66. *Consule quo facto tempore* = *quo tempore, quo (frater) consule facto*.

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## REVIEWS.

*Plautinisches und Attisches.* Von GÜNTHER JACHMANN. Problemata: Forschungen zur Klassischen Philologie, Heft 3. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1931. M. 16.

This volume of Plautine studies proceeds generally with the methods of Fraenkel to separate the Plautine from the Greek elements in several of the plays of Plautus. Readers will agree with the author when he says that one is in danger of reasoning in a circle when one erects an a priori standard of what is Plautine and then uses this standard for the discovery of Plautine lines. They will also feel that Jachmann has expended a great deal of ingenuity in discovering in the plays various inconsistencies that have not been apparent to others. Since Plautus did not write for readers, certainly not for professors, but rather for single performances before a holiday crowd, it is questionable whether it is legitimate to establish criteria of composition on the basis of slight flaws that become apparent only after a dozen very meticulous examinations of a play. I shall try to illustrate my point by taking a few examples from Jachmann.

In discussing the *Rudens* Jachmann notices that Plesidippus was a stranger to Daemones in Act I, but turns out to be a relative at line 1195. Hence he believes that in the latter passage Plautus has left his model and has inserted a scene of his own. But I venture to say that most of us in reading line 1214 reached the conclusion that Daemones learned about Plesidippus while talking to Palaestra inside the house. Jachmann also finds great difficulty with the scene beginning at line 1045, because the women are silent for a long time. There are two patent reasons for this silence. In the first place, the women's parts had for two acts been taken by silent actors, since the producer's troupe did not suffice for all the rôles; it would be strange to make them voluble all at once. Secondly, Plautus does not want them to reveal all the facts till he has exploited the quarrel between Gripus and Trachalio to the full.

In his discussion of the *Miles* Jachmann considers that the lines following 459 move too slowly; but here Plautus is obviously dragging out the speeches to give Philocomasium time to transform herself into Dicea. At line 372 he objects to the slave's jokes about his father, reminding us that in Greek as well as in Roman law a slave has no *pater*. But no one who is acquainted with Latin inscriptions would worry about that point. Finally he discusses once more the difficult lines 807-810 of the *Miles*, concluding that Plautus inserted the Lurcio scene and bungled the text before it. However, the Greek author as well

as Plautus needed a scene to give plausible time for the fetching of Acroteleutium. Moreover, since the play has thirteen rôles to cram into the capacities of five actors, it is likely that Periplectomenus, who leaves the stage at 805, was also cast for Lurcio. Hence a plausible dialogue has to occupy time; hence also Palaestrio continues to give instructions, some of which eventually prove unnecessary. The real difficulty lies in lines 809-810: "Why need I remember that?" Pal. "I'll tell you when the time comes." Those two lines seem to me to bear the marks of a cutting down of a space-filling dialogue. I suggest that at the Plautine revival, when larger troupes were available so that another actor could take the Lurcio scene, some lines of Plautus were cut out after 809 and Palaestrio's curt answer (810) substituted. If this be the explanation of this one passage, then we need not resort either to *contaminatio* or to the supposition that Plautus lost the thread of his plot. It is in fact the only passage in the *Miles* that gives any reasonable foothold for either contention.

The study is full of keen observations. The rejection of Schwering's definition of *contaminatio*, for instance, is especially timely. But most of it seems to me misspent labor based upon unreasonable premises: the assumption that the originals were perfect, that all flaws are attributable to the incapacity of Plautus, and that these plays should be judged by criteria applicable to work meant for literary publication.

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The Divinity of the Roman Emperor. By LILLY ROSS TAYLOR, Professor of Latin, Bryn Mawr College. Philological Monographs published by The American Philological Association, No. I, 1931. Pp. x, 296.

Miss Taylor's book is divided as follows into ten chapters: I, The Divinity of Kings in the Hellenistic East; II, The Divinity of Man and King in Republican Rome; III, Julius Caesar's Attempt to found a Divine Monarchy; IV, Divus Julius enshrined in State Cult; V, The Strife to secure Caesar's Power; VI, Augustus, Son of the Deified Julius; VII, The Formation of a State Cult; VIII, The Institution of the State Cult in Provinces and Municipalities; IX, The Deification of Augustus; X, The Development of Augustus' Divinity; and three appendices: I, The Worship of the Persian King; II, Alexander and the Proskynesis; III, Inscriptions recording Divine Honors; and an index. There are 47 figures in the text, of which over 30

are of coins. The format is that used for the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*.

The first chapter dealing with the Hellenistic Ruler Cult is a necessary introduction to Emperor Worship and valuable as a rapid survey, but it contains little that is new. It deals with oriental influences in the form of the Persian obeisance to the king's *fravashi*, the hero cult of Cyrus the Great, the Egyptian conception of the King as an incarnation of divinity, and the Egyptian cult of the king's *ka* or guardian spirit. Miss Taylor believes that among the Greeks the belief in *daimones* prepared the way for the worship of supermen. Emphasis is laid on the importance of Alexander the Great; with respect to his introduction of the *proskynesis* Miss Taylor remarks, correctly, that Greeks and Macedonians interpreted the act as one of worship; she calls it "an adaptation to Greek banquet customs of the honor to the *daimon* of the Persian king." There is a very brief treatment of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults. The development of the ruler cult in the Pergamene kingdom seems to be dismissed in too summary a fashion, while the statement that "it was only the dead kings who were called gods" does not appear justified (see, for example, the inscription from Elaea [Ditt. O. G. I., 332] where Attalus III is called a *σύνναος θεός* during his lifetime). Further discussion of the practical purpose of the Hellenistic Ruler Cult and of the extent to which it was an expression of genuine faith would have been welcome.

The next chapter treats in the main of Roman contacts with the ruler worship of the Hellenistic East. Roman magistrates and commanders fell heir to the divine honors formerly paid to the kings, and the Roman senate condoned and even encouraged such practise. The Etruscan kings had had certain emblems of divinity, and the triumph was "the closest thing in Roman state ceremony to deification". The barriers between man and god were broken down by philosophy and the mystery religions. The argument that Julius Caesar was *divus* before his death remains perhaps somewhat doubtful, though Miss Taylor presents evidence that *divus* might be used of a living person.

The third chapter relates Caesar's attempt to create his god-head which he considered as a necessary part of monarchy. Steps in this direction are his claim to descent from Venus and Mars, his obtaining the office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and the divine honors voted him by Greek cities. Egypt seems to have made a profound impression on him. The senate made him *σύνναος* of Quirinus and voted him many divine honors, including the oath by his Genius, a temple, and a *flamen*. Some of the honors were spontaneous worship, some were mere flattery, and some were proposed by enemies who wished to arouse hatred against him. It is noted that there was no divine legend about Caesar during his lifetime.

In the fourth chapter there is discussion of popular sympathy for the murdered Caesar, of the attempts of Octavian to carry out the divine honors to Caesar voted before his death, and Antony's opposition to Octavian. When these two formed an alliance they deified Caesar, an act in which Miss Taylor sees the putting into effect of the honors decreed in 44. The altar and column erected to Caesar by the people, the destruction of these objects by Dolabella, and the comet of Julius Caesar are also discussed.

The historical background of the period when Rome was ruled by the *triumviri* is admirably presented in Chapter V. Miss Taylor shows how Octavian was associated with Apollo, Sextus Pompey with Neptune, and Mark Antony with Dionysus. Important points are Octavian's desire to establish the cult of Divus Julius, his use of the expression *Divi filius*, and his final stand on the side of Roman tradition against the divine oriental monarchy which Antony tried to establish. It is interesting to note that Miss Taylor says that the child of the *IV Eclogue* is "to be taken as a symbol of the age" (Hermann, in the *Rev. Arch.* xxxiii (1931), 47-69, says emphatically that the child must be Marcellus). The story of the *Arae Perusinae* is given (p. 117), but questioned. To the reviewer the idea of a human sacrifice to Divus Julius is absurd, for the Romans did not practise human sacrifice, and Octavian was far too shrewd to outrage the feelings of the Romans and of the whole empire.

Miss Taylor has, apparently, misinterpreted the line "Dum nova divorum cenat adulteria" of the anonymous poem on the *δωδεκάθεος* quoted by Suetonius (*Aug.*, 70) to which she refers in the words "Octavian is said . . . to have indulged in some very unseemly gossip about the affairs of the other gods." Rankin, in the Wescott-Rankin edition of Suetonius' *Lives of Julius and Augustus*, p. 337, translates, "while he feasted on novel debaucheries of the gods"; Rolfe (Loeb ed.) translates "feasts amid novel debaucheries of the gods", while the reviewer would render the line thus: "While Octavian presents at a banquet new adulteries of the gods", an interpretation which will be explained at length in a forthcoming article.

The sixth chapter defines Octavian's position after the Civil Wars. He was absolute and divine ruler in Egypt; in the East he was worshipped by non-Romans as a savior and in connection with Roma; with Romans he remained mortal, but looked forward to deification upon death after the example of the demi-gods, especially of Romulus (unfortunately Miss Taylor has not cited the strongest evidence on this point, Ovid, *Fasti*, ii, 133-144). There is excellent discussion of Augustus' cult in subject kingdoms, the question of succession, the influence of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, the *Iudi saeculares*, the libation to be poured to the emperor's Genius at every banquet, and the title Augustus (on the last subject two important articles by Gagé

may be mentioned: Romulus-Augustus, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, xlvii [1930], pp. 138-181, and "Les Sacerdotes d'Auguste et ses réformes religieuses", *Mélanges* xlviii [1931], pp. 75-108. Of these the first appeared so late that Miss Taylor would scarcely have been able to use it, while the latter has appeared after the publication of her book.) The eighty "golden" statues mentioned on p. 154 is an error. They were silver.

The state cult treated in Chapter VII was based upon the worship of the emperor's Genius by Roman citizens. The acquisition in 12 B. C. of the office of *Pontifex Maximus* marked an important point in Augustus' religious policy, and from 12 to 8 B. C. dates the reorganization of the cult of the Lares in the *vici* with the addition of the Genius of Augustus. Attention is given to the *Ara Pacis* and its significance.

In Chapter VIII, Miss Taylor shows how in the East the cult of Divus Julius and of Roma gave way to the increasing importance of worship of Augustus, while at the same time his cult was extended to Roman citizens, who previously could worship only Roma and Divus Julius. In the West the provincial assemblies probably all had a cult of Augustus before his death, the center probably being everywhere an altar as at Colonia Agripinensis, Lugudunum, and Tarraco. The municipal cult was, Miss Taylor believes, more or less spontaneous. She shows the important part taken in it by the freedmen and the growth of the colleges of *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales*. If worship in the municipalities was paid to the Genius, this can have been only a very thin disguise. It is interesting to note the plan of several eastern kings to complete the Olympieum at Athens and dedicate it to the Genius of Augustus. Miss Taylor states that "there is only one literary parallel from Augustus' reign for the attachment of the word *deus* to the name of the emperor, and that is in an elegy of . . . Propertius". (Ovid refers to Augustus frequently as *deus*, but not in conjunction with the word *Augustus*.)

Chapter IX is concerned with the official *consecratio* of Augustus after his death and the encouragement given by Tiberius to municipal and provincial worship of Divus Augustus. The reviewer would question Miss Taylor's interpretation of the dedication of the temple of *Concordia Augusta* in 10 A. D. as referring to the harmonious relations between Tiberius and Augustus. Is not the emphasis more on the concord which had existed between Tiberius and his brother Drusus?

The brief tenth chapter points out Tiberius' adherence to the policy of Augustus, Gaius' deviation from it, and Claudius' return to it. The importance of the cult of the Genius has perhaps been overemphasized by Miss Taylor.

In the first appendix Miss Taylor concludes that the Persians

offered a form of cult to the spirit of their kings, both living and dead, and to the idea of glory that was thought of as attending them. In the second she expresses the belief that at Bactra Alexander "simply added a *proskynesis* to the ordinary toast which men were no doubt in the habit of drinking to him." She calls *proskynesis* at banquets "a preparation for the later decree of deification." The reviewer would agree that there was some form of cult offered to the *δαίμων* of the Persian king, but would be inclined to question the statement that the *proskynesis* at Bactra was "a preparation for the later decree of deification"; were these not more or less unrelated matters?

The last appendix comprises a selective list of inscriptions "arranged geographically, of the records that indicate divine honors bestowed during their lifetime on Caesar, Antony, Augustus, and his house." The list is certainly useful, but it is to be regretted that Miss Taylor did not aim to make it complete.

Miss Taylor's book is an important contribution to our knowledge of the worship of the Roman emperor, and deserves to be ranked with the best works on the subject, those by Beurlier and Kornemann. The presentation is clear and logical, the discussion of the cult of Julius and Augustus is the best we have, and the bibliography is most complete and of great value in itself. This book is a most auspicious beginning for the series of Monographs of the American Philological Association.

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Survivals of Roman Religion. By GORDON J. LAING. New York, 1931. Longmans, Green and Co. xiii + 257 pp.

Few titles from the series on "Our Debt to Greece and Rome" would seem to promise more general interest than that of Dean Laing's recent work. The term "Roman Religion" is used to include all cults that found a following in Rome, hence the work deals with practically all survivals of paganism, especially those appearing in the western church, or in the life of any of the countries of western Europe (or America).

Dean Laing finds such survivals in the New Testament: for example, the idea of the Man-God, the Trinity, the regeneration of initiates, and the brotherhood of believers. The birth of Christ, the adoration of the Magi, his miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension have pagan parallels; so also have baptism, communion, prayer, and song-worship. Much more numerous, however, are the pagan practices adopted by the church after the time of Constantine. Polytheism survived in the veneration of the saints—in popular cult and belief, if not in doctrines ap-

proved by the church. Many goddesses, including Diana, Venus, Cybele, and Isis, contributed to the cult of Mary. Some of the ancient festivals survived in the church, such as the Robigalia (St. Mark's Day, April 25), the Ambarvalia ("beating the bounds," on or before Ascension Day in May), and the Natalis Solis Invicti of December 25. Others, such as the Lupercalia and Saturnalia, contribute to modern holiday customs. Present-day marriages and funerals preserve some ancient rites. Incubation for the cure of disease, we are told, still survives in Italian churches. The use in worship of images, candles, incense, holy water, and instrumental music are of pagan origin; as are also the kissing of sacred objects, expiatory offerings (indulgences), and the form, orientation, and consecration of churches. Many churches are on the site of temples and incorporate the material remains of pagan art. The belief in divination by astrology, oracles, visions, and omens is not extinct.

These are only a part of the "survivals" which pack the thirty-one chapters of Dean Laing's book. To arrange the material was a difficult task, especially as the attempt is made to study separately the various pagan gods, or groups of gods (Ch. I-XXII), then the various religious usages (Ch. XXIII-XXXI). A good deal of repetition and cross-reference thus results.

For a popular work, the notes are rather numerous, yet the curious or sceptical reader may often find striking statements left without a clue as to source. What is the evidence, for instance, that in Asia Minor "the Mithraists, numerous and influential, had celebrated Sunday long before the Christian era" (p. 149)? Or that "at first many of the Christians, associating music with all that was pagan, were bitterly opposed to it, and we find writers of the fourth and fifth centuries condemning the use of song and instruments in cult" (pp. 202 f.)? The condemnation of instruments is found in the works of Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, etc. (though no references are given); but the reviewer is still unaware of any condemnation of the use of song in Christian worship.

Dean Laing differs from Wissowa in accepting as genuine the *di minuti* of Varro's list (pp. 3-7); also in believing Mars to be a vegetation spirit (p. 176). He thinks that the festival of Candlemas (February 2) is of other than Roman origin (p. 40), though Usener is followed by Wissowa in holding that the candle procession is a survival of the Roman *amburbium*.

Other notes follow:

P. 3. In describing the type of spirit-being worshipped in the earliest Roman religion, would it not be more apt to use the Latin term (*numen*) than to say, "a demon it was often called"?

P. 91. "Roman religion from very early times set aside places of burial as *loci sacri*." Burial grounds were rather

known as *loca religiosa*, and were distinguished from *loca sacra*, or places publicly dedicated to the gods.

P. 156. "Adoration (*adoratio*) . . . consisted in placing the right hand upon the mouth (*ad ora*) as one stood before or passed by a temple or altar or statue." Is this to be taken as the etymology and primary definition of the term? The *Thesaurus* and our dictionaries give the primary meaning of *adorare* as "to address" (cf. *orare, os*). The secondary meaning is "to worship with prayer," and finally, in a general sense, "to worship". The curious form of adoration described by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxviii, 25) can hardly be taken as a general definition of the term.

P. 159. "Jesus kissed (*sic*) the loaves and fishes." A misprint?

P. 185. "Even a Christian emperor like Theodosius consulted pagan oracles." Is the reference to his famous consultation of the Egyptian monk John of Lycopolis?

P. 225. The Mithraic sacred meal was of bread and water (*Just. Apol.* i, 66), rather than of bread and wine.

Wissowa laments the biassed treatment of pagan survivals found in the principal works. From the extravagances of a number of its predecessors the present volume is free. The difficulty of labelling "survivals" with assurance is recognized, and the author is often content to point to analogies, similarities, and possible connections. We are here provided with an English work, in convenient and attractive form, which discloses to us the extent of those similarities.

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The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1931. xviii + 567 pp. \$7.50.

This book is more than a discussion of Hellenistic chronology. The author has taken as his point of departure an inscription which he discovered in 1928 on the west slope of the Acropolis, and from it, directly and indirectly, has elaborated new tables of the Athenian archons for the last three centuries before Christ. The investigation deals with collateral evidence of the widest possible range: the archons at Delphi, the archons and calendar of Delos, the Macedonian calendar in Egypt, the dates in the chronicle of Eusebius, matters of general historical and prosopographical interest, and finally, the whole complicated problem of calendar cycles and secretary cycles from as early as the fifth century B. C. One cannot praise too highly the incomparable skill with which even obscure or seemingly unintelligible bits of



evidence have been made to yield a logical and harmonious background for the story of Athenian history.

As Professor Dinsmoor himself admits (preface), many parts of the argument are based upon deduction, and may be verified or disproved by further discovery. The moot question of the date of the archon Polyeuktos (pp. 90-111, 123-137, 154-160, 190-201) has probably been discussed as much as any other one question in Hellenistic chronology. Dinsmoor makes a strong case for 249/8, and it now remains to be seen whether such discoveries as the new decree from Rhamnus (*B. C. H.*, 1930, pp. 269-270) and the new interpretation given by Robert to the inscription of Charixenos at Delphi (*B. C. H.*, 1930, pp. 322-332) will necessitate a change in this determination. But many definitive contributions have been made. The essential names from the beginning of the third century to the end of the Chremonidean War have been definitely established. This is all clear gain. The false assumption of Macedonian domination in Athens between 288 and 263 must now be abandoned (Chap. VI); with only one break, the cycle of prytany secretaries moves forward without readjustment from 307 to 262 B. C.

In that part of the volume dealing specifically with the calendar, Dinsmoor has also made far-reaching contributions. In succeeding chapters his searching analysis of the cycles of Meton, of Kallippos, and of Hipparchos again and again establishes some new fact or elucidates some difficult historical problem. It is especially gratifying to find the answer to the vexed question of dating *κατ' ἀρχοντα* and *κατὰ θεόν* in decrees of the second century (pp. 402-418). The date by prytany corresponds regularly to the date by month *κατ' ἀρχοντα* which Dinsmoor renders as "New Style." The corrections in the calendar introduced by the dating in "New Style" are associated with revisions at the end of the fourteenth Metonic cycle (167/6) and with the commencement of the later great cycle of Hipparchus (145). The sequence of alternation in full and hollow months in the civil calendar has been worked out in conformity with both the literary and epigraphical evidence, and Dinsmoor has been able to construct tables showing this sequence through the long period of seventeen Metonic cycles from 432 to 109 B. C. (pp. 424-440). Naturally, the precise names of the various months for Julian equivalents and the sequence of ordinary and intercalary years depend also upon the validity of the archon lists, but whatever changes may be made in details can lessen only in a minor way the fundamental value of Dinsmoor's tables.

In order to allow Meton's first cycle to end with the month Skirophorion in 413 B. C., Dinsmoor is compelled to assume that the month Mounichion in that year was omitted (p. 342), and also to reject as "null and void" an equation given by Aristotle in the *Constitution of Athens* for 411 B. C. (p. 329). To the

present reviewer it seems here preferable to allow the first Metonic cycle to end with the month Thargelion, and so avoid the assumption which contradicts the evidence of Aristotle and at the same time requires the omission of a month from the civil calendar. In general, one wonders whether the Metonic scheme was applied to the actual civil calendar with that rigidity which Dinsmoor implies, especially in view of the irregularities in 423 B. C. which may be inferred from Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 615-626) and Thucydides (IV, 118-119; V, 19-20). But such irregularities of a few days are hard to localize, and do not affect the value of the tables for all practical purposes.

The book is admirably printed and bound by the Harvard University Press and supplied with useful bibliographies and indices. Some idea of how thoroughly fundamental sources have been consulted and utilized may be gained from the fact that the index of inscriptions cited alone comprises ten pages. Innumerable improvements in text and restoration have been proposed, so that references to the *Corpus* of Athenian inscriptions must now be supplemented by references to this volume. One cannot fail to recognize that the author has the same facility in dealing with epigraphical problems that he has already shown in other fields.

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The *Eclogues* of Henrique Cayado. Edited, with introduction and notes, by WILFRED P. MUSTARD. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931. Pp. 98. \$1.50.

Henrique Cayado was one of those young Portuguese scholars who went to Italy to study in the late 1400's; Prof. Mustard prints as an Appendix Politian's letter to Teixeira praising the quality of the pupils sent him from where (to quote Cayado's 9th *Eclogue*) "*Tagus pleno fluit aureus alveo*." After Politian's death in 1494, Cayado attached himself to Beroaldo—that

"Beraldus

*Felsineae uates atque ingens gloria gentis*"—

who commends Cayado's "*uersiculos bene tornatos*." Cayado made an impress on his contemporaries, and even Erasmus praises him as "*in epigrammatibus felicem, in oratione soluta promptum ac felicem, ad argumentandum dexterrimae dicacitatis*." He knew his Ovid, Horace, Virgil and especially Seneca; Statius was to him "*poeta omnibus fortasse anteponendus*" (Virgil excepted.) We possess his *Sylvae* and *Epigrams*, as well as the nine *Eclogues*

here admirably edited by Prof. Mustard. He is apparently the man mentioned by Erasmus as dying of "angina vinaria" in Rome, in 1508-9. From my experience of the inexhaustible Lisbon archives, I imagine much more could be gleaned there about his life. The Eclogues are not merely clever verse; they throw much light on contemporary Italy. Prof. Mustard's notes are illuminating; there is a brief index of proper names. The book is a worthy member of a valuable series.

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Luigi Schiaparelli. *Note Paleografiche*. [Estratto dall' "Archivio Storico Italiano," Serie VII, Vol. XII, 2 (1929).] Florence, *Leo S. Olschki*, 1930. Pp. 45; 1 plate.

In this acute and stimulating essay, Schiaparelli debates how the Visigothic hand arose. Lowe and Lehmann make it a development of the semi-uncial. For Schiaparelli, it is the Roman cursive of Spain become a book hand; he would even derive its characteristic "g" from uncial rather than semi-uncial; and in its later history he sees much Arabic influence. Two MSS. come up for special discussion—the semi-uncial Reginensis 1024, and Autun 27, in which Lindsay discovered Visigothic elements; Schiaparelli publishes Liebaert's photograph of f. 27. In Autun 27 Schiaparelli finds the earliest known example of early Visigothic cursive; he might have called attention to the spelling also as confirming the diagnosis. The ideal work on Visigothic will characterize the various schools, and point out how their scripts were influenced from Africa, Italy, France, etc.; Schiaparelli keeps contributing manfully to this ideal.

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G. CURCIO, *La Primitiva Civiltà Latina Agricola*. Firenze, *Vallecchi*, 1929. Pp. 231.

JOSEF HÖRLE, *Catos Hausbücher*. Paderborn, *F. Schöningh*, 1929. Pp. 270.

Cato's precious book on farming is now receiving some of the attention it deserves; but the difficulties of the text, the peculiarities of the vocabulary, and the highly technical nature of some of the chapters on farm machinery place the book beyond the range of ordinary editorial work. A syndicate of various specialists ought to edit and comment on the book. Professor Curcio has offered a translation, together with an introduction

that attempts to exploit the economic and technical aspects of Cato's work. The translator, who has apparently observed with some care the methods of olive and wine culture and the implements required in the industry, has provided a translation that elucidates many difficult passages. However it slips up at many points and has to be used with great caution. In the first place he did not use the good 1922 Teubner text of Goetz, and secondly the work is too hastily done. So, for instance, he assumes in Chapter 136 that the *politor* is the harvester, and in 144 the statistics become badly confused.

The introduction is useful, but would have been improved if the author had referred to the very excellent discussion of Cato by Gummerus in *Der römische Gutsbetrieb* (Klio, Beiheft 5).

Hörle's volume is of a very different kind. The author commands all the literature and is not afraid of any of the knotty problems presented. But he attempts the impossible when he tries to sift the book into several periods of composition. It has long been an accepted creed that Cato's book lacks unity and that the first draft received additions and interpolations, but Hörle's criteria of style and grammar will not convince many readers. The *Dritter Teil*, pp. 149 ff., is nevertheless very valuable in its courageous attempt to explain the technical portions of Cato's book, especially in the minute descriptions of mills and presses, and the economic calculations offered after page 192. However, these calculations must be checked with care before using. For instance, the results on pp. 202-4 are vitiated by two errors: first, he takes Pliny's highest figure of production (6 pounds of oil from one modius of olives) as an average—it is certainly at least twice the average figure, and I suspect that VI is a corruption of III—, and he takes *SS* to be an abbreviation of *situli*, which is impossible. On page 205 he mistranslates Columella III, 9, as well as Cato XI, 1. The latter passage (*dolia ubi quinque vindemiae esse possint culleum DCCC*) means not 800 cullei for five years, but 800 cullei per year for five years. Hence Hörle's gross figure must be multiplied by five. Despite such mistakes, this chapter contains several good suggestions, and, if used with extreme caution, his method will be found of considerable value.

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## DIE QUELLEN FÜR DAS SPÄTRÖMISCHE HEERWESEN.

(Continued from A. J. P. LIII 40.)

### *Die Notitia Occidentis.*

Wesentlich günstiger verhält es sich bei der *Notitia Occidentis*, indem hier, wie bereits erwähnt, bei einigen Kapiteln (V + VI und VII) dieselben Abteilungen des Feldheeres einmal nach ihrer Gattung, das andre Mal nach ihrer Einteilung erscheinen. Durch diese Wiederholung wird eine gewisse Kontrolle ermöglicht, die freilich dadurch erschwert ist, daß die wenigsten Abteilungen in den verschiedenen Kapiteln mit genau denselben Namen genannt werden. Im Gegenteil, die Abweichungen sind mitunter so bedeutend, daß es schwer fällt, die in dem einen Kapitel ausgewiesenen Abteilungen ohneweiters in dem anderen zu finden. Ein weiterer Uebelstand ist ferner, daß die Namen oft nur abgekürzt oder in landläufiger Form, oder mit Weglassung der unterscheidenden Beifügung *seniores* und *iuniores* wiedergegeben sind, so daß ein Schluß auf die entsprechende Abteilung im anderen Kapitel nicht eindeutig gezogen werden kann. Hiezu kommen noch die verschiedenartigsten, bei einem derartig komplizierten und für den Abschreiber nicht leichten Text erklärlichen Fehler, so die Verstümmelung einzelner Namen oder deren gänzliche Auslassung. Da es jedoch schon ein ganz besonderes Verhängnis sein müßte, daß bei der verhältnismäßig geringen Zahl von Auslassungen ein Name zweimal übergangen wurde, so läßt sich der Text in diesem Abschnitt mit ziemlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit vollkommen lückenlos wie-

derherstellen. Hiebei darf man allerdings nicht vergessen, daß zwischen Kapitel VII und den Kapiteln V und VI einige Jahre liegen, während welcher einige Abteilungen eingegangen, hingegen andere wieder aufgestellt worden sein können.

Im Kapitel V fehlen folgende Abteilungen des Kapitels VII:

In Italien:	104 Cursarienses iuniores
VII 17 victores seniores	105 Musmagenses
36 Placidi Valentinianici felices.	107 insidiatores
	108 truncensimani
	109 Abulci
In Illyrien:	110 exploratores.
VII 62 Catarienses.	
In Gallien:	In Britannien:
VII 97 balistarii	VII 154 victores iuniores Britanniciani
98 defensores iuniores	155 primani iuniores
99 Garronenses	156 secundani iuniores.
100 Anderetiani	
101 Acincenses	

Im Kapitel VI fehlen folgende Abteilungen des Kapitels VII:

In Britannien:	203 equites stabliesiani
VII 200 equites catafractarii iuniores	204 equites Syri.
201 equites scutarii Aureliaci	In Tingitanien:
202/05 equites Honoriani	207 equites scutarii seniores.
Taifali seniores	

Im Kapitel VII fehlen folgende Abteilungen der Kapitel V und VI:

Auxilia Palatina:	262 Antianenses.
V 183 Augustei	Vexillationes Comitatus:
217 felices iuniores Galliani.	VI 75 comites iuniores
	77 equites sagittarii iuniores.
Legiones Pseudocomitatenses:	85 cuneus equitum promotorum.
V 261 Taurunenses	

Da die Kapitel V und VI die Truppengattung, das Kapitel VII die Einteilung in die einzelnen Feldheere enthalten, so bedeutet das Fehlen einer Abteilung in einem derselben einen bedeutenden Verlust, weil sich die nähere Bestimmung nicht durchwegs mit völliger Sicherheit ergänzen läßt. Die Reihenfolge im Kapitel V ist wohl im Allgemeinen derart, daß zuerst,

wie im Kapitel VII, alle *Legiones Palatinae* von Italien, dann von Illyrien, Gallien u. s. w., hierauf die *Auxilia Palatina* in derselben Aufeinanderfolge, desgleichen die *Legiones Comitatus* und zuletzt die *Legiones Pseudocomitatus* aufgezählt werden. Analog verhält es sich mit den *Vexillationes Palatinae* und den *Vexillationes Comitatus* im Kapitel VI. Es lassen sich jedoch auch zahlreiche Beispiele dafür anführen, daß diese rangmäßige Aufeinanderfolge unterbrochen wurde. Jedenfalls können wir daraus nur in vereinzelten Fällen sichere Schlüsse ziehen für die nähere Bestimmung der Truppengattung oder der Einteilung, und müssen dieses Hilfsmittel stets mit der größten Vorsicht und Zurückhaltung gebrauchen.

Wir haben als fehlend nachfolgende Abteilungen festgestellt:

a) VII 17 *victores seniores*.—Sämtliche in der *Notitia dignitatum* aufgezählte *victores* sind *Auxilia Palatina*, darunter auch die *victores iuniores* (Occ. V 37 = 185 = VII 126). Es besteht daher gar kein Anlaß, hier eine Ausnahme zu machen, und zwar um so weniger, als die gleichnamigen, bloß durch die Beifügung *seniores* und *iuniores* unterschiedenen Abteilungen stets ein zusammengehöriges Paar derselben Waffen- und Truppengattung bilden.

b) VII 36 *Placidi Valentinianici felices*.—Seeck (*Notitia* S. 325) zählt diese Abteilung zu den *Pseudocomitatus*. Ich halte sie für ein *Auxilium Palatinum*, da von den 12 Truppenkörpern der *Notitia dignitatum*, die die Bezeichnung *felices* tragen, 9 *Auxilia Palatina*, dagegen nur 2 *Legiones Comitatus* und 1 *Legio Pseudocomitatus* sind. Auch steht, was freilich nicht allzuviel besagen will, die Einteilung der *Placidi Valentinianici* als *Auxilium Palatinum* mit der Reihenfolge im Kapitel VII in keinem Widerspruch, da auf dieselben 2 *Auxilia Palatina*, *Gratianenses iuniores* und *Marcomanni*, folgen.

c) VII 61 *Valentinianenses*. 71 *Valentinianenses*.

Diesen beiden Abteilungen stehen im Kapitel V nur die *Valentinianenses iuniores* (42 = 190) gegenüber, ein *Auxilium Palatinum*. Somit ist im Kapitel V eine Abteilung (*Aux. Pal.*) *Valentinianenses seniores* ausgefallen, und VII 61 und VII 71 beziehen sich auf diese beiden *Auxilia Palatina*, so daß die einen *Valentinianenses* (61 oder 71) die *seniores*, die anderen die *iuniores* sind.

d) VII 97 *balistarii*.—Mit Ausnahme der *milites balistarii* (Occ. XLI 23), die jedoch an dieser Stelle nicht in Betracht kommen, sind alle *balistarii* Legionen. Unter den 6 Abteilungen sind 3 *Legiones Comitatus* und 2 *Pseudocomitatus*, welche letztere jedoch erst von Theodosius I. errichtet wurden. Nun erzählt Ammian (XVI 2), daß Julian im Jahre 356 mit den *cataphractarii* und *balistarii* von Augustodunum nach Remi marschierte. Da alle übrigen *balistarii* im Ostreiche standen, so kommen für diese Stelle nur unsere; die gallischen *balistarii* in Betracht, und da sie, wie aus der Schilderung Ammians hervorgeht, Feldtruppen waren, so können sie, wie ich an anderer Stelle<sup>31a</sup> ausgeführt habe, nur *Comitatenses*, niemals aber *Pseudocomitatenses* gewesen sein.

e) VII 98 *defensores iuniores*.—Da die *seniores* desselben Namens (Occ. V 117 = 267 = VII 93), die bei einer Ungleichheit im Range immer der höheren Gruppe angehörten, *Pseudocomitatenses* sind, müssen es die *iuniores* gleichfalls sein.

f) VII 107 *insidiatores*. 110 *explatores*. Alle derart nach ihrer besonderen Verwendung bezeichneten Abteilungen, die unmittelbar den Kommandanten der Feldheere unterstehen und deren Truppengattung einwandfrei überliefert ist, sind—mit Ausnahme eines *Auxilium Palatinum defensores* (Or. 16 = 57)—durchwegs *Pseudocomitatenses*.<sup>32</sup> Auch spricht schon der Umstand, daß diese Abteilungen fast durchwegs auf die alten *Numeri* des Fußvolkes zurückgehen, für ihre Einteilung als *Pseudocomitatenses*.

g) VII 108 *truncensimani*. 154 *victores iuniores Britannici*. 155 *primani iuniores*. 156 *secundani iuniores*.—Die Reihenfolge im Kapitel VII gibt uns keinen Anhaltspunkt für die Gattung der *truncensimani*, *primani* und *secundani*. Ihr Name zeigt uns jedoch, daß es Legionen sein müssen, da sich eine derartige Namensbildung aus der Nummer des Truppenkörpers eben nur bei Legionen vorfindet. Die beiden britanischen Abteilungen können nur *Comitatenses* sein, da der

<sup>31a</sup> The Army Reforms of Diocletian and Constantine (Journal of Roman Studies XIII), S. 30 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Es sind dies: *defensores seniores* (Occ. V 117 = 267 = VII 93); *funditores* (Or. VII 16 = 52); *superventores iuniores* (Occ. V 120 = 270 = VII 96).

Comes Britanniarum auf jeden Fall über ein kleines Feldheer verfügen mußte, ihm aber außer den beiden genannten Abteilungen und einigen Reiterregimentern nur noch die *victores iuniores Britanniciani* unterstanden. Diese sind ein Auxilium Palatinum und gehören, worauf wir noch später zurückkommen werden, in eine Gruppe mit den *victores seniores* (Occ. VII 17) und *iuniores* (Occ. V 37 = 185 = VII 126).

Die *truncensimani* oder, wie sie richtig heißen, *tricesimani* waren Pseudocomitatenses. Die aus Legionsvexillationen<sup>33</sup> gebildeten Neulegionen wurden allerdings zumeist den Feldheeren einverleibt. Wir kennen jedoch auch Ausnahmen, wo sie unter den Besatzungstruppen anzutreffen sind.<sup>34</sup> Die Erklärung für diesen Vorgang muß einer späteren Abhandlung vorbehalten bleiben.

h) In der Notitia dignitatum erscheinen mehrere Legionen mit dem Namen *septimani*, deren Zusammenhang noch nicht geklärt ist. Es sind dies:

Occ. V 228 septimani seniores (leg. com.)	VII 31 septimani iuniores (Italien)
242 septimani iuniores (leg. com.)	103 septimani iuniores (Galilien)
273 septimani (pseudocom.)	132 septimani seniores (Hispanien)
	139 septimani iuniores (Tingitanien).

Im Kapitel V fehlt mithin eine der im Kapitel VII genannten Abteilungen, während im letzteren wieder irrtümlich 3 Abteilungen *iuniores* nur eine Abteilung *seniores* gegenübersteht. Anscheinend waren die italischen *septimani* die *seniores*. Es folgen sich nämlich in den Kapiteln V und VII:

<sup>33</sup> Während die Vexillationes Palatinae und Comitatenses der Notitia dignitatum Reiterregimenter zu je 500 Mann darstellen, sind die hier erwähnten Vexillationen kombinierte Abteilungen, wie sie auch schon in den früheren Jahrhunderten aus einem oder mehreren Truppenkörpern zu einem bestimmten Zwecke (Feldzug, größere Arbeiten) entnommen und unter einem Feldzeichen, dem Vexillum, nach dem sie auch benannt sind, vereinigt wurden, wenn man aus irgend einem Grunde nicht ganze Abteilungen aus einer Provinz abziehen wollte. Vgl. CIL III 600; 1980.

<sup>34</sup> Als Legiones Riparienses: V Macedonica und XIII gemina, Or. XXVIII 14; 15. Als Pseudocomitatenses: I Italica (Or. VII 53); IV Italica (Or. VII 54); septimani (Occ. V 123 = 273 = VII 103).

V 228 septimani seniores.  
229 regii.

VII 31 septimani iuniores.  
32 regii.

Die irrtümliche Schreibung *iuniores* im Kapitel VII mag dadurch entstanden sein, daß dort den *septimani* die *mattiarii iuniores* (VII 30) vorangehen. Da die *seniores* auf keinen Fall Pseudocomitatenses gewesen sein können, so kommen für letztere nur die gallische und die tingitanische Abteilung in Betracht. Die größere Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht dafür, daß wir die Pseudocomitatenses in Gallien zu suchen haben. Hier standen auch noch andere Abteilungen Pseudocomitatenses, während in Tingitanien keine genannt werden. Ueberdies betrug das kleine tingitanische Feldheer, auch wenn wir die *septimani* als Comitatuses rechnen, nur 3000 Mann Fußvolk und 1500 Reiter;<sup>35</sup> schwächer werden wir es wohl kaum annehmen dürfen.

Stellen wir nun die sich entsprechenden Stellen der Kapitel V und VII einander gegenüber, so zeigt sich uns folgendes Bild:

V 228 septimani seniores =	VII 31 Comitatuses in Italien und 132 Comitatuses in Hispanien.
242 septimani iuniores =	139 Comitatuses in Tingitanien.
273 septimani iuniores =	103 Pseudocomitatenses in Gallien.

i) VII 104 Cursarienses iuniores.—Sie sind die zu den gleichfalls im gallischen Feldheer eingeteilten Ursarienses (Occ. 244 = VII 85), bei denen *seniores* zu ergänzen ist, gehörigen *iuniores*. Wie die Ursarienses seniores sind sie eine Legio Comitatusensis, da ein Uebergreifen der Bezeichnung *seniores-iuniores*, so daß z. B. die *seniores* Comitatuses, die *iuniores* Pseudocomitatenses sind, niemals stattfindet, wenn wir von den nach alten Grenzlegionen benannten Neuformationen absehen, für welche andere Grundsätze der Namensgebung gelten.

k) VII 62 Catarienses. 99 Garronenses. 100 Anderetiani. 101 Acincenses. 105 Musmagenses. 109 Abulci.—Die hier zusammengefaßten Abteilungen sind, wie schon aus der Namensbildung hervorgeht, durchwegs Legionen. Die Klassifizierung derselben als Comitatuses und Pseudocomitatenses ergibt sich zum Teil aus der Reihenfolge in der Notitia dignitatum, zum

<sup>35</sup> 2 Auxilia Palatina zu 500 Mann, 2 Legiones Comitatuses zu 1000 Mann, 3 Vexillationes Comitatuses zu 500 Reiter.

Teil können wir darauf aus anderen Begleitumständen einen Schluß ziehen. Ohne an dieser Stelle auf eine weitläufige Erklärung eingehen zu können, führe ich an, als

Comitatenses:	Pseudocomitatenses:
VII 99 Carronenses. <sup>36</sup>	VII 62 Catarienses.
100 Anderetiani.	105 Musmagenses.
101 Acincenses.	109 Abulci.
1) VI 48 equites cornuti seniores.	VII 162 equites cornuti seniores.
49 equites cornuti iuniores.	168 equites cornuti seniores.

Im Kapitel VII sollte einmal statt *seniores iuniores* stehen. An welcher Stelle die Berichtigung durchzuführen ist, läßt sich nicht feststellen, da wir weder aus der Reihenfolge in der Notitia dignitatum noch aus irgend welchen anderen Umständen einen Schluß ziehen können.

- m) VI 52 equites constantes Valentinianenses seniores.  
VII 165 equites constantes Valentinianenses iuniores.

Da kaum anzunehmen ist, daß im Kapitel VI die *iuniores*, im Kapitel VII die *seniores* fehlen, so sollten die beiden Angaben gleichlautend sein, und zwar erachte ich die Korrektur in Kapitel VII auf *seniores* für die bessere, da die Zahl der fehlenden *seniores* geringer ist als die der *iuniores*.

n) VI 62 equites Constantiani felices. VII 178 equites Constantiaci feroces. Constantiani kommt in der Notitia dignitatum in gleicherweise vor wie Constantiaci; es läßt sich daher nicht feststellen, welche Form hier die richtige ist. Dagegen ist in Verbindung mit dem Kaisernamen die Bezeichnung *felices* wohl der Bezeichnung *feroces* vorzuziehen, die sich nur bei den Mauri (Occ. VI 61 = VII 164) findet.

- o) VI 63 equites scutarii VII 181 equites scutarii seniores  
81 equites secundi scutarii (Afrika).  
iuniores. 195 equites scutarii iuniores.  
(Afrika).  
197 equites scutarii iuniores  
scolae secundae  
(Afrika).  
201 equites scutarii Aureliaci  
(Britannien).  
207 equites scutarii seniores  
(Tingitanien).

<sup>36</sup> So richtig statt Garronenses.

Die *seniores* und *iuniores* des Kapitels VII in Afrika wurden im Kapitel V in eine Abteilung *scutarii* ohne weiteren Zusatz zusammengezogen, wie wir die in gleicher Weise bei den *septimani* sahen.<sup>37</sup> Das besondere Hervorheben der dritten afrikanischen Abteilung als *secundi iuniores* bzw. *iuniores scolae secundae*, zeigt, daß hier eine Gruppe von 3 durch denselben Namen verbundenen Truppenkörpern geschaffen wurde, sei es auf einmal oder durch spätere Beifügung des dritten Gliedes. Wir sehen somit je eine Abteilung *seniores*, (*primi*) *iuniores* und *secundi iuniores*.

Die *seniores* in Tingitanien (VII 207), analog den afrikanischen *seniores* eine Vexillatio Comitatus, fehlen im Kapitel VI. Da das Kapitel VII älteren Datums ist als das Kapitel VI, so kann dieser Truppenkörper in der Zwischenzeit aus irgend einem Grunde verschwunden sein. Die *iuniores* zu VII 207 fehlen gänzlich. In den britannischen equites scutarii Aureliaci dürfen wir sie wohl schwerlich suchen, da diese, nach ihrem Namen zu schließen, eine unabhängige Abteilung bildeten.

p) VI 64 equites stablesiani Africani. VII 182 equites stablesiani seniores. Diese verschiedenen Namen beziehen sich auf denselben Truppenkörper. Die *iuniores* fehlen; mit den equites stablesiani Italiciani (Occ. VI 82 = VII 180) sind sie nicht identisch, da diese sonst gewiß in den beiden Kapiteln analog wie Occ. VI 64 = VII 182 behandelt und im ersteren als Italiciani, im letzteren als *iuniores* aufgezählt worden wären. Die equites stablesiani in Britannien (Occ. VII 203) sind allem Anscheine nach eine selbständige Abteilung.

q) VII 200 equites catafractarii iuniores. 201 equites scutarii Aureliaci. 202/05 equites Honoriani Taifali seniores. 203 equites stablesiani. 204 equites Syri.—Das Fehlen dieser Abteilungen in dem jüngeren Kapitel VI wurde oben auf den Abzug des britannischen Feldheeres nach Italien (winter 401/02) zurückgeführt.

Die equites Honoriani seniores (VII 202) und die equites Taifali (VII 205) habe ich in eine Abteilung zusammengezogen, da wir, bei der Leseart der Notitia dignitatum bleibend, außer

<sup>37</sup> Ebenso auch bei den Honoriani Marcomanni seniores und iuniores (Occ. V 198; 199), die im Kapitel VII in eine Abteilung Marcomanni (VII 38) zusammengezogen sind.



den im Kapitel VI fehlenden britannischen Reiterregimentern auch noch je eine in den Kapiteln VI und VII fehlende Abteilung Honoriani iuniores und Honoriani Taifali seniores annehmen müßten. Die doppelte Zählung der Honoriani Taifali seniores als Honoriani seniores und als Taifali denke ich mir dadurch entstanden, daß diese Abteilung auf zwei Stationen aufgeteilt war, und diese Gruppen im landläufigen Sprachgebrauch, vielleicht auch zur Unterscheidung von einander, verschieden d. h. mit anderen Teilen des vollen Namens bezeichnet wurden. Aus dem Vergleich mit anderen Reiterabteilungen<sup>38</sup> desselben oder ähnlichen Namens geht hervor, daß alle 5 britannischen Reiterregimenter Vexillationes Comitatuses waren.

r) VII 207 equites scutarii seniores.—vgl. unter o).

s) V 183 Augustei. 217 felices iuniores Gallicani.—Diese beiden Auxilia Palatina fehlen im Kapitel VII. Wir wissen daher nicht, welchem Feldheer sie angehörten. Die felices iuniores Gallicani werden wir mit ziemlicher Sicherheit dem Magister Equitum Galliarum zuweisen dürfen, in dessen Heere sich zahlreiche Gallicani befinden. Die Augustei waren vielleicht dem Comes Africae unterstellt, da dieser, trotz der sonstigen Stärke seines Feldheeres, im anderen Falle nur über ein einziges Auxilium Palatinum verfügt hätte, und wohl auch hier, wie in Tingitanien, an eine paarweise Einteilung zu denken ist.<sup>39</sup>

t) V 261 Taurunenses. 262 Antianenses.—Gemäß der Art ihrer Errichtung standen alle Pseudocomitatenses grundsätzlich im Verbands jener Heere, zu denen die Provinz gehörte, aus der sie hervorgegangen waren. Nur von den nach Grenzlegionen benannten Pseudocomitatenses bilden einige eine Ausnahme von dieser Regel. Mithin werden wir hier mit ziemlicher Gewißheit annehmen dürfen, daß diese beiden Legionen dem Comes Illyrici unterstanden, zu dessen Amtsbereich auch die Provinzen Pannonia II und Valeria gehörten, in denen Taurunum und Antiana lagen.

<sup>38</sup> Or. VI 35 equites catafractarii; vgl. auch Parthi, Marcomanni etc.; Honoriani Taifali iuniores (Occ. VI 59 = VII 172).

<sup>39</sup> Die Beliebtheit der paarweisen Zusammenfassung ergibt sich auch daraus, daß z. B. die Namen von Auxilien des Feldheeres, die bei Ammian paarweise genannt werden, auch im Kapitel VII der Notitia Occidentis unmittelbar neben einander stehen.

u) VI 75 comites iuniores. 77 equites sagittarii iuniores. 85 cuneus equitum promotorum.—So wenig Verlaß auch im allgemeinen auf die Reihenfolge in den Kapiteln VI und VII—was die unterbrochene Aufeinanderfolge anbelangt—ist, in diesem Falle gibt sie doch anscheinend ganz verläßlichen Aufschluß über die Einteilung der hier genannten 3 Vexillationen. Die *comites iuniores* und die *sagittarii iuniores* stehen nämlich in der Mitte einer langen ununterbrochenen Reihe von Reiterregimentern, die alle dem Comes Africae unterstellt sind. Es besteht daher gar keine Veranlassung, sie einer anderen Provinz zuweisen zu wollen. Ähnlich der cuneus equitum promotorum; er wird in Kapitel VI als letzter Truppenkörper aufgezählt und die vorangehenden Abteilungen gehören der Provinz Tingitanien an, in der daher wohl auch unser Cuneus zu suchen sein wird.

Zu den hier besprochenen Fehlern kommt noch eine ganze Reihe von kleineren Abweichungen zwischen dem Texte der Kapitel V und VI und dem Kapitel VII, deren Erklärung jedoch so einfach ist, daß in den meisten Fällen der bloße Hinweis genügen wird:

v) V 177 Salii = VII 67 Salii seniores.

V 210 Salii Gallicani = VII 129 Salii iuniores Gallicani.

Der Zusatz Gallicani zeigt unzweideutig, welche Abteilungen der beiden Kapitel einander entsprechen. Die *iuniores* ohne den Zusatz Gallicani fehlen in beiden Listen.

w) V 181 Gratianenses seniores = VII 68 Gratianenses.—Da die Gratianenses iuniores gegeben sind (V 189 = VII 37), steht die Ergänzung *seniores* zu VII 68 zweifellos fest.

x) V 57 Britannici = V 206 invicti iuniores Britannici = VII 127 invicti iuniores Britones.

V 59 exculcatores = V 207 exculcatores iuniores Britannici = VII 73 Britones. In gleicher Weise, wie bei der ersten Abteilung, deren Zusammengehörigkeit durch das Wort "*invicti*" erwiesen ist, sehen wir auch bei der zweiten einmal die Form Britannici, das anderemal Britones, nur ist überdies bei VII 73 noch der weitere Zusatz entfallen. Wollten wir in V 207 und VII 73 zwei verschiedene Truppenkörper sehen, wozu nicht die geringste Veranlassung besteht, so würden in beiden

Kapiteln die entsprechenden Formationen, mithin weitere zwei Abteilungen fehlen.

y) V 67 Honoriani iuniores = V 215 Honoriani victores iuniores = VII 48 Honoriani victores.

z) V 72 = 220 Honoriani Gallicani = VII 52 matiarum Honoriani Gallicani. Seeck<sup>40</sup> bemerkt hiezu: "*Mattiarum praeter hos inter auxilia non reperies itaque aut ex Cod. V. Mauri recipiendum erat, aut Mattiaci, quod edit. Gelen. praebet.*" Zieht man in Betracht, was Seeck an anderer Stelle<sup>41</sup> über die Verlässlichkeit des Codex Vindobonensis sagt, so ist der Lesung Mauri entschieden der Vorzug zu geben, umsomehr als zu den Mattiaci bereits eine Abteilung Gallicani vorhanden ist (Occ. V 209 = VII 77), zu den Honoriani Mauri aber nicht.

a1) VI 54 Equites armigeri = VII equites armigeri seniores. — Die zu diesem Paar gehörigen *iuniores* fehlen, dagegen steht ein zweifellos zusammengehöriges Paar *seniores* und *iuniores* in Afrika.

b1) VI 59 equites Honoriani Taifali iuniores = VII 172 equites Honoriani iuniores.

VI 67 equites sagittarii clibanarii = VII 185 equites clibanarii.

In diesen beiden Fällen handelt es sich lediglich um Abkürzungen der Namen im Kapitel VII. Wollten wir in den Abteilungen der Kapitel VI und VII verschiedene Truppenkörper erblicken, so würden wir dem Texte Gewalt antun und die Zahl der tatsächlichen Auslassungen zwecklos vermehren.

Außer diesen Berichtigungen, welche Truppenkörper der Feldheere betreffen, erscheint auch noch an einigen anderen Stellen eine Korrektur erforderlich:

#### *Dux Germaniae secundae.*

Im Kapitel I der Notitia Occidentis fehlt unter den Duces duodecim der von Germania II, dagegen wird der von Germania I genannt, obwohl auch der Comes Argentoratensis und die Duces Sequaniae und Mogontiacensis — demnach die Militärkom-

<sup>40</sup> Not. dign. S. 135 Anm. 9

<sup>41</sup> Zur Kritik der Notitia dignitatum, S. 202.

mandanten aller 3 Provinzen, in welche Germania I (superior) aufgelöst erscheint—angeführt werden. Daß hier eine Doppelzählung stattfindet, geht schon daraus hervor, daß bei der jetzt üblichen Lesung der Dux Germaniae primae, der als der Befehlshaber über die Truppen der ganzen Provinz naturgemäß über den 3 Teilkommandanten stehen müßte, als Dux einen niedrigeren Rang einnimmt, als sein Untergebener, der Comes tractus Argentoratensis. Dies kann nicht richtig sein, vielmehr muß Occ. I 47 aus "Germaniae primae" (I) in "Germaniae secundae" (II) verbessert werden. Dann ist die Rheingrenze in 4 Verteidigungsabschnitte geteilt, unter denen der tractus Argentoratensis durch den Rang seines Befehlshabers dieselbe Vorstellung einnimmt, wie dies in der Zivilverwaltung durch die Bezeichnung von Mogontiacum als "Metropolis civitas Mogontiacensium" (G. VII 2) geschieht. Die Liste der Consulares enthält ganz richtig den von Germania I (Occ. I 71) und Germania II (Occ. I 72).<sup>42</sup> Ebenso werden unter den 17 gallischen Provinzen, die zum Verwaltungsgebiet des Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum gehören, nur Germania I (Occ. III 17) und Germania II (Occ. III 18) aufgezählt,<sup>43</sup> so daß hier nicht dieselbe Unterteilung stattfindet wie im Militärwesen. Ein Irrtum ist hier vollkommen ausgeschlossen; wüßten wir nicht schon aus anderen Quellen—Inschriften, Militärdiplome etc.—daß Germania II dieselbe Provinz ist wie Germania inferior, so würde es uns durch die Stelle des Laterculus Polemii Silvii (P. II 12): "Germania secunda versus Britanniam" erklärt, und in gleicher Weise durch die Aufzählung der Civitates, getrennt für Germania I und II, in der Notitia Galliarum (G. VII und VIII).

#### *Dux Libyarum.*

Vom Kapitel Or. XXX Dux Libyarum ist uns nur die dritte Seite erhalten, die einen Teil (den Schluß) des Officium aufzählt. Verloren sind somit zwei Seiten (1 Blatt) mit den Abzeichen des Dux, der Aufzählung sämtlicher ihm unterstehender Truppen und dem Beginne des Officium. Ein Vergleich mit den anderen Kapiteln der Notitia Orientis zeigt, daß die erste Seite außer dem Titel und den Abzeichen noch die Zeile "*Sub dispo-*

<sup>42</sup> Analog die Gliederung beim Vicarius septem provinciarum.

<sup>43</sup> Analog die Gliederung in V. VIII 4; 5; P. 11; 12.

*sitione viri spectabilis ducis Libyarum*“ und vermutlich einen Truppenkörper enthalten haben muß, während von dem *Officium* am Schluß der zweiten Seite die Zeilen:

“1 *Officium autem habet ita:*

2 *Principem de scola agentum in rebus.*”

standen. Den Rest der zweiten Seite nahm die Aufzählung der Truppenkörper ein, die durch die Zeile: “*Et quae de minore laterculo emittuntur:*” in zwei Teile geschieden war. Die zweite Seite enthält durchschnittlich 22 bis 24 Zeilen; zieht man die 3 Zeilen mit anderem Texte ab und zählt den einen Truppenkörper von der ersten Seite dazu, so ergibt sich die Stärke des Exercitus von Libyen mit 20 bis 22 Truppenkörpern, mithin fast gleich stark wie jener des Limes Aegypti (Or. XXVIII), der ohne die Truppen der Provinz Augustamnica 20 Abteilungen hat u.zw. 2 Equites, 3 Alae, 4 Legionsdetachements im Hauptverzeichnis, 11 Alae, 2 Cohortes im Laterculus minor. Da in sämtlichen Grenzducaten des Orients Legionen oder Legionsteile stehen, so werden wir dies auch für Libyen annehmen müssen. Zweifelhaft ist, ob es ganze Legionen mit einem Sollstande von 5500 Mann oder nur Legionsdetachements zu 1000 Mann waren, wie die 4 im Limes Aegypti eingeteilten. Berücksichtigen wir, daß Libyen und der Limes Aegypti Nachbarprovinzen waren und auch sonst in ihrer ganzen Organisation—im Gegensatze zur Thebais—viele Analogien zeigen, so werden wir kaum fehlgehen, wenn wir diese Gleichartigkeit auch für die Art der Truppenkörper annehmen. In der verlorenen Liste des Dux Libyarum wären demnach 4 Legionsdetachements zu je 1000 Mann. gestanden, ferner etwa 14 Reiterregimenter (Equites und Alae) und etwa 2 selbständige Infanteriebataillone (Cohortes).

*Dux Pannoniae primae et Norici ripensis.*

Die Provinzen Pannonia I und Noricum ripense stehen in der Notitia dignitatum militärisch unter einem gemeinsamen Oberbefehl. Es kann dies nur ein Zustand sein, der sich in einer sehr späten Zeit herausgebildet hat. Diocletian, der viele Provinzen, die er vorfand, in mehrere Teile zerlegte, hat gewiß die seit jeher bestehende Selbständigkeit der beiden Provinzen beibehalten. Dies geht schon daraus hervor, daß er die beiden Grenzheere mit je 2 Legionen einander gleichstellte. Auch unter

Constantin und seinen nächsten Nachfolgern wird die Selbständigkeit fortbestanden haben. Aus dem Umstande, daß das Verzeichnis der Stationen im Kapitel XXXIV nur die Festungen von Pannonia I, nicht aber jene von Noricum ripense enthält, schließe ich sogar, daß die Zusammenlegung der beiden Provinzen erst nach der Abfassung dieser Listen erfolgt ist, mithin in der Zeit zwischen dieser Abfassung (etwa 400) und der Schlußredaktion der *Notitia dignitatum* (437/38). Der Bearbeiter der *Notitia dignitatum* unter Theodosius II hätte demnach den zu seiner Zeit tatsächlich bestehenden Zustand dadurch herzustellen getrachtet, daß er alle Hinweise auf die militärische Selbständigkeit Noricums ausschaltete. Dies waren das Stationsverzeichnis und der Titel des Militärkommandanten am Kopfe des Kapitels über Noricum ripense und die Angabe des Dux im Kapitel I. Hiebei ist ihm dann freilich das Versehen unterlaufen, daß er das Stationsverzeichnis von Noricum ripense nicht in gleicher Weise an jenes von Pannonia I anfügte, wie er dies mit der Liste der Truppenkörper getan hat. An einen späteren zufälligen Verlust der ersten Seite von Noricum kann ich aus dem Grunde nicht glauben, weil in diesem Falle nicht alle sonstigen Spuren des Dux Norici ripensis getilgt wären. Auch ergibt sich aus verschiedenen Anzeichen (Legionsziegel etc.) der Schluß auf einen festeren Zusammenhang der beiden Provinzen für die spätrömische Zeit.

### C. Ausgefallene Abteilungen.

Wie es bei einem so mächtigen Heere, gleich dem römischen, nicht anders möglich ist, sind im Laufe der Jahrzehnte und Jahrhunderte seines Bestandes manche Truppenkörper vernichtet oder auch aufgelöst worden, kurzum aus dem Gefüge der Wehrmacht verschwunden, ohne daß für sie ein gleichnamiger Ersatz geschaffen wurde. Eines der ältesten und wohl das bekannteste Beispiel aus der Kaiserzeit sind die 3 Legionen des Varus, mit den Nummern XVII, XVIII und XIX, die in der Schlacht im Teutoburger Walde durch die Germanen aufgerieben wurden und seither in den römischen Heereslisten fehlen.

Im Folgenden soll nun an der Hand der Verzeichnisse der *Notitia dignitatum* untersucht werden, welche fehlenden Abteilungen sich nachweisen lassen. Hiebei darf nicht übersehen

werden, daß die Heere des Ost- und des Westreiches jedes für sich selbständig aufgebaut sind und daß ein Uebergreifen, sei es durch fortlaufende Zählung, sei es durch die Beifügung von *seniores* und *iuniores*, von der einen in die andere Reichshälfte im Allgemeinen nicht stattfindet. Eine Ausnahme bilden nur die alten Grenzlegionen samt ihren Hilfstruppen, die aus ihren Vexillationen errichteten Neulegionen und einige Vexillationes Comitatuses "equites Dalmatae," mit den fortlaufenden Nummern von I bis IX. Dagegen sind die Reiterregimenter und die Legionen der Palatini und Comitatuses innerhalb jeder Reichshälfte zum Teil fortlaufend bezeichnet, indem bei gleichem Namen die ersteren *seniores*, die letzteren *iuniores* sind. Auf die Pseudocomitatuses greifen diese Bezeichnungen nicht über.

Stellt man alle durch ihre Nummern, durch *seniores-iuniores* oder durch sonstige Merkmale als zusammengehörig erkenntlichen Abteilungen zusammen (indem man jede Reichshälfte als eine selbständige Einheit behandelt) und scheidet alle als vollständige Gruppen erkenntlichen aus, so bleibt eine Anzahl von Formationen übrig, zu denen teils die zugehörigen Abteilungen zweifellos fehlen, teils nicht deutlich und unzweifelhaft erkenntlich sind. Die Feststellung mancher dieser Abteilungen ist nur auf Grund eingehender Untersuchungen möglich, die einer späteren Besprechung vorbehalten bleiben müssen. Vorgreifend sollen jedoch bereits hier alle Gruppen zusammengestellt werden, in denen sich fehlende Abteilungen nachweisen lassen, um ein übersichtliches Bild des Wandels des römischen Heerwesens zu geben.

#### *Reiterei der Feldheere. Orient.*

Vexillationes Palatinae:	VII 25	comites catafractarii Buccellarii iuniores.
V 30 comites sagittarii iuniores.		
VI 28 comites seniores.	26	equites armigeri sen. Orientales.
29 equites brachiiati iuniores.		
30 equites Batavi iuniores.	28	equites primi scutarii Orientales.
Vexillationes Comitatuses:		
V 35 equites armigeri sen. Gallicani.	29	equites secundi stabilesiani.
40 equites primi clibanarii Parthi.	30	equites tertii stabilesiani.
VI 40 equites secundi clibanarii Parthi.	32	equites quarti clibanarii Parthi.
	33	equites primi sagittarii.

34 cuneus equitum secundorum clibanariorum Palmirenorum.	IX 19 equites sagittarii seniores. 20 equites Germaniciani seniores.
VIII 32 equites primi Theodosiani.	

Dieses Verzeichnis zeigt ganz bedeutende Lücken. Zunächst fehlen zweifellos, wie aus der Zählung, sowie aus der Beifügung *seniores* bzw. *iuniores* hervorgeht:

equites primi stablesiani (Com.)	Equites brachiati seniores (Pal.)
equites tertii clibanarii Parthi (Com.)	equites Batavi seniores (Pal.)
cuneus equitum primorum clibanariorum Palmirenorum (Com.)	comites catafractarii Bucellarii seniores (Com.)
comites sagittarii seniores (Pal.)	equites armigeri Orientales iun. (Com.)
equites armigeri Gallicani iun. (Com.)	equites sagittarii iuniores (Com.)
comites iuniores (Pal.)	equites Germaniciani iuniores (Com.)

Wo *seniores* vorkommen, müssen auch *iuniores* gewesen sein und umgekehrt; das Vorkommen von Abteilungen mit der Nummer I ist jedoch noch kein Beweis dafür, daß Formationen desselben Namens mit höheren Nummern bestanden haben. Wir müssen vielmehr mit derartigen Schlüssen sehr vorsichtig sein, wenn nicht noch weitere Anhaltspunkte vorliegen. Es gibt im römischen Heere so viele alleinstehende Truppenkörper mit der Nummer I, daß daraus deutlich hervorgeht, daß manche von ihnen nie Nachfolger erhalten haben. Diesen Grundsatz möchte ich in dem vorliegenden Falle auf die *equites primi Theodosiani* anwenden. Anders bei den *equites primi scutarii Orientales*, die ihren Beinamen, gleich Or. VII 26, davon haben, daß sie im Feldheere des *Magister Militum per Orientem* eingeteilt waren, und bei den *equites primi sagittarii*. Eine Zusammenstellung zeigt uns nämlich, daß die *sagittarii* in den Feldheeren des Ostreiches fast ausnahmslos paarweise standen. Die in der *Notitia dignitatum* fehlenden Abteilungen sind in Klammer [. . .] gesetzt:

Magister Militum praesentalis I:	[comites sagittarii seniores (Pal.)] comites sagittarii iuniores (Pal.).
Magister Militum praesentalis II:	comites sagittarii Armeni (Com.).
Magister Militum per Orientem:	equites primi sagittarii (Com.) [equites secundi sagittarii (Com.)]



Magister Militum per Thracias:	equites sagittarii seniores (Com.)
	equites sagittarii iuniores (Com.).
Magister Militum per Illyricum:	equites sagittarii seniores (Com.)
	[equites sagittarii iuniores (Com.)]

Ebenso standen die scutarii durchwegs paarweise mit Ausnahme der equites scutarii (Or. VI 39) und der equites scutarii Aureliaci (Occ. VII 201), die aber auch keine Nummer tragen. Wir erhalten somit als weitere fehlende Abteilungen:

equites secundi scutarii Orientales (Com.)  
equites secundi sagittarii (Com.)

### *Occident.*

Im Occident bleiben uns nach Vornahme der Ausscheidung folgende Fragmente:

- Occ. VI 10 = 52 equites constantes Valentinianenses seniores = VII  
165 equites constantes Valentinianenses iuniores (Pal.).  
VI 11 = 54 = VII 173 equites armigeri seniores (Com.).  
VI 12 = 55 = VII 176 equites primi Gallicani (Com.).  
VI 21 = 64 equites stablesiani Africani = VII 182 equites stable-  
siani seniores (Com.).  
VII 200 equites catafractarii iuniores [(Com.)].  
VII 207 equites armigeri seniores [(Com.)].

Die equites primi Gallicani können wir auf Grund unserer früheren Erwägungen über die Truppenkörper mit der Nummer I ausschalten, indem wir sie als eine alleinstehende Abteilung betrachten. Betreffs der übrigen Abteilungen verweise ich auf die vorangehenden Ausführungen bei den Reiterregimentern des Orients. Als fehlend haben wir demnach im Westreiche folgende Reiterregimenter zu verzeichnen:

equites constantes Valentinianenses seniores oder iuniores (je nachdem wir den Angaben des Kapitels VII oder VI folgen.—Pal.).  
equites armigeri iuniores (Com. in Gallien).  
equites stablesiani iuniores (Com. in Afrika.)  
equites catafractarii seniores (Com.).  
equites scutarii iuniores (Com. in Tingitanien(?)).

Hiezu kommen noch einige Abteilungen der equites Dalmatae, deren Zählung in beiden Reichshälften fortlaufend ist, so daß sich nicht feststellen läßt, welcher die fehlenden angehörten. Wir kennen aus der Notitia dignitatum die Vexillationes Comita-

tenses mit den Nummern III, V, VI, IX (Orient), VIII (Occident). Es fehlen mithin:

equites primo Dalmatae (Com.). equites quarto Dalmatae (Com.).  
equites secundo Dalmatae (Com.). equites septimo Dalmatae (Com.).

von denen eine Abteilung anscheinend in den Equites Dalmatae Passerentienses steckt.

*Legionen der Feldheere und Pseudocomitatenses.*

Bei den Legiones Palatinae, Comitatenses und Pseudocomitatenses ergibt sich folgender Rückstand:

Orient:		Occident:	
VII 40 Martenses seniores (Com.).	V 147 = VII 5 divitenses seniores (Pal.)		
46 II felix Valentis (Com.).	148 = 6 Tungrecani seniores (Pal.)		
VIII 34 solenses seniores (Com.).	150 = 8 Moesiaci seniores (Pal.)		
42 Constantini seniores (Com.).	224 = 83 Menapii seniores (Com.)		
43 divitenses Gallicani (Com.).	227 = 80 armigeri defensores s		(Com.).
45 Constantini Dafnenses (Com.).			
50 solenses Gallicani (Com.).	232 = 30 mattiarii iuniores (Com.)		
IX 32 Britones seniores (Pal.).	253 = 149 (oder VII 138) II Flavia		
38 lanciarum iuniores (Com.).			Constantiniana (Com.)
41 felices Theodosiani iuniores	270 = 96 superventores iuniores		(Pseud.).
(Pseud.).			
46 secundi Theodosiani (Pseud.).			

Aus den Nummern, sowie aus den Zusätzen seniores bzw. iuniores ergibt sich das Fehlen folgender Abteilungen:

I felix Valentis (Com., Or.).	Tungrecani iuniores (Com., Occ.).
I Flavia Constantiniana (Com., Occ.).	Menapii iuniores (Com., Occ.).
primi Theodosiani (Pseud., Or.).	armigeri defensores iuniores (Com., Occ.).
Martenses iuniores (Com., Or.).	mattiarii seniores (Com., Occ.).
lanciarum seniores (Com., Or.).	superventores seniores (Pseud., Occ.).
felices Theodosiani seniores (Pseud., Or.).	

Die zu den Constantini seniores fehlenden iuniores werden wir wohl nicht in den Constantini Dafnenses suchen dürfen. Die Constantini seniores und iuniores stehen gleich den milites Constantini (Or. XXXIX 23; 25; 26; XL 20; 24; 26) in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang mit dem Kaisernamen. Die Constantini Dafnenses hingegen sind nach dem Kastell Daphne in Moesia II am Ister (Ammian XXVII 5) benannt, das von Constantin erbaut war, weshalb sich auch auf Münzen zum Unter-

schied von anderen Orten des gleichen Namens die Bezeichnung Constantiniana Dafne findet. Wir müssen daher die Constantini Dafnenses von den Constantini seniores scharf trennen und rechnen als fehlend:

Constantini iuniores (Com., Or.).

Bezüglich der divitenses und solenses vermute ich, daß ursprünglich von ersteren je eine Legion in beiden Reichshälften stand, während die letzteren; auch nur mit einer Abteilung, bloß im Orient vertreten waren. Die divitenses des Westreiches und die solenses wurden später, wie zahlreiche andere Abteilungen, durch Bildung von *seniores* und *iuniores* verdoppelt, die divitenses des Ostreiches blieben unverändert. Verloren gingen in der Folge:

divitenses iuniores (Com., Occ.).

Die divitenses des Ostreiches jedoch und die solenses [*iuniores*], die beide in Thrakien standen, erhielten aus irgend einem Anlaß den Beinamen Gallicani, unter dem sie uns in der Notitia dignitatum begegnen. Von Honorius, dem wir sonst zahlreiche Gallicani nachweisen können, stammen die Beinamen in diesem Falle nicht, da sich seine Namensgebung infolge der Reichsteilung auf den Occident beschränkte.—

Unter den Legiones Palatinae des Occidents nennt die Notitia dignitatum auch die Moesiaci seniores, im Orient die Britones seniores. Wie die Analogie der Pannonici (Occ. V 149 = VII 7; Or. VIII 48) und zum Teil auch der Germanici (Occ. V 236 = VII 33; Or. IX 34) lehrt, war die jüngere Abteilung dieser Gruppen stets Comitatus und je eine — seniores oder iuniores — stand im Ostreiche, die andere im Westreiche. Ich verzeichne demnach als fehlend:

Britones iuniores (Com., Occ.). Moesiaci iuniores (Com., Or.).

Von Pannonien bis an das Schwarze Meer sind alle Provinzen durch Legionen vertreten, die ihre Namen tragen, und zwar alle jene Provinzen, von denen es eine superior (I) und eine inferior (II) gibt, durch 2 Legionen, die einfachen Provinzen durch eine Legion. Nur Noricum und die Valeria fehlen in dieser Reihe obwohl sie sonst zahlreiche Legionsvexillationen abgegeben haben. Wir erhalten daher als fehlend:

Norici (Com., Or.). Valeriani (Pal., Occ.).

Zu dieser Einteilung führt mich die Symmetrie in der Aufteilung der derart benannten Truppenkörper auf die beiden Reichshälften. Ihr Rang ergibt sich aus dem Vergleich mit den anderen derart benannten Abteilungen, sowie aus dem Range der betreffenden Provinzen.

Aus Ammian (XVIII 9) läßt sich schließlich noch das Bestehen einer Legion, vermutlich Comitatusensis, nachweisen, die im Jahre 359 beim Fall von Amida vernichtet wurde:

tricesimani (Com., Or.),

ferner die eine in der Notitia dignitatum fehlende parthische Legion, die jedenfalls mit der VI. desselben Namens (Or. VII 55) ein Paar bildete und gleich ihr Pseudocomitatusensis war. In demselben Kapitel (XVIII 9) nennt Ammian noch zwei sonst nicht bekannte Abteilungen, superventores und praeventores. Die superventores im Occident (V 270 = VII 96) sind Pseudocomitatusenses, daher wird für den Orient dasselbe gelten. Die paarweise Nennung mit den superventores, sowie der Name selbst—vgl. defensores, exploratores, insidiatores—weist darauf hin, daß die praeventores derselben Kategorie angehörten:

V Parthica; superventores; praeventores (Pseud., Or.).

Die Notitia Occidentis (V 268 = VII 94) zählt eine Legio Pseudocomitatusensis Mauri Osismiacy auf. Im Kapitel XXXVII sehen wir neben einander:

16 praefectus militum Maurorum Benetorum (richtig Venetorum).

17 praefectus militum Maurorum Osismiacoꝝ.

Aus dieser Analogie läßt sich der Schluß auf das ehemalige Bestehen von

Mauri Veneti (Pseud., Occ.) ziehen.

#### *Auxilia des Feldheeres.*

Verhältnismäßig gering ist die Zahl der Auxilia Palatina, die sich namentlich als fehlend nachweisen lassen. Dieser Umstand berechtigt jedoch keineswegs zu der Annahme, daß dieselben von Constantin bis zum Anfang des 4. Jahrhunderts so wenige Veränderungen erlitten haben; er ist vielmehr darauf zurückzuführen, daß zahlreiche einzelnstehende Abteilungen dieser Gattung bestanden, die bei ihrem Untergange nicht, wie die mit

fortlaufenden Nummern oder mit seniores-iuniores bezeichneten, eine Spur hinterließen.

Bei der Durchsicht der Auxilia Palatina ergeben sich Lücken in folgenden Gruppen:

Orient:		Occident:	
V 49 Batavi seniores.		V 160 = VII 11 petulantes seniores.	
50 brachiatii iuniores.	162 =	13 Heruli seniores.	
56 tertii sagittarii Valentis.	177 =	67 Salii seniores.	
IX 26 petulantes iuniores.	182 =	125 invicti seniores.	
28 invicti iuniores.	215 =	48 Honoriani victores iuniores.	
	216 =	79 Honoriani ascarii seniores.	

Nach den Nummern oder der Beifügung seniores bzw. iuniores lassen sich folgende Abteilungen als fehlend nachweisen:

primi sagittarii Valentis (Or.).	petulantes seniores (Or.).
secundi sagittarii Valentis (Or.).	invicti seniores (Or.).
Batavi iuniores (Or.).	petulantes iuniores (Occ.).
brachiatii seniores (Or.).	invicti iuniores (Occ.).

Von allen diesen Auxilia Palatina stand sowohl im Orient wie im Occident je ein Paar. Daß von den invicti und den petulantes nur je eine Abteilung u. zw. in beiden Fällen im Orient die iuniores, im Occident die seniores erhalten sind, beruht auf einem bloßen Zufall. Es läßt sich bei dieser Truppengattung nicht ein einziger Fall nachweisen, daß die Bezeichnung aus der einen in die andere Reichshälfte übergegriffen hätte. Auch daran, daß die iuniores jener Teil der petulantes seien, den Julian in Gallien zur Abgabe an Constantius bereitgestellt hatte (Ammian XX 4), und den er dann auf seinem Zuge aus Gallien mitnahm, ist nicht zu denken, da es sich dort nur um ein Detachement, nicht aber um eine vollzählige Abteilung handelte.

Die invicti iuniores Britannici (Occ. V 206 = VII 127) sind nicht die zu dem occidentalen Paare fehlenden iuniores, sondern wie alle derartigen Abteilungen, die den Zusatz Gallicani oder Britannici tragen, ein dem alten Paare nachträglich angehängtes drittes Glied. Da der einzige Kaisername, der mehrmals mit Gallicani in Verbindung steht, der des Honorius ist,<sup>44</sup> so werden wir gewiß alle so benannten Auxilia Palatina

<sup>44</sup> Honoriani felices Gallicani (Occ. V 247 = VII 89); lanciarii Gallicani Honoriani (Occ. V 239 = VII 81).

auf ihn zurückführen dürfen. Die sagittarii Gallicani (Or. V 54; 55) gehen wohl auf Constantin zurück, doch darf man sie nicht als Ausnahme betrachten, da sie im Orient stehen, wo dem Honorius nicht das Recht der Namensgebung zustand, und es sich überdies um eine Truppe seniores—iuniores handelt, deren Name sie von den sagittarii Orientales seniores und iuniores (Or. VI 54; 55) unterscheiden soll. Die Gegenüberstellung von Gallicani und Orientales zeigt sich schon in der Einteilung der ersteren beim Magister Militum praesentalis I, der letzteren beim Magister Militum praesentalis II, dann auch in der ganz übereinstimmenden Aufzählung—beide seniores als sechstes, beide iuniores als siebentes Auxilium Palatinum. Während die Gallicani des Westreiches ihren Namen von Gallien haben, dürfte er im Ostreiche, gleich der Legio III Gallica, auf die Galater hinweisen.

Bei den Gallicani und Britanniciani fällt aber noch eine weitere höchst merkwürdige Erscheinung auf; es gibt keine seniores dieses Namens. Beachtenswert ist auch die Stellung des Wortes iuniores. Dieses steht, wenn es richtig gesetzt ist, stets vor Gallicani bzw. Britanniciani, wodurch gezeigt wird, daß es nicht zu diesen Gallicani oder Britanniciani, sondern zu dem vorangehenden Teile des Namens gehört und daß Gallicani bzw. Britanniciani ein weiterer Zusatz ist:

invicti seniores	invicti iuniores	invicti iuniores Britanniciani
Mattiaci seniores	Mattiaci iuniores	Mattiaci iuniores Gallicani
Jovii seniores	Jovii iuniores	Jovii iuniores Gallicani
Salii seniores	[Salii iuniores]	Salii iuniores Gallicani
victores seniores	victores iuniores	victores iuniores Britanniciani
exculcatores seniores	exculcatores iuniores	exculcatores iun. Britanniciani
felices seniores	felices iuniores	felices iun. Gallicani
sagittarii Nervii		sagittarii Nervii Gallicani
Honoriani Atecotti sen.	Honoriani Atecotti iun.	[Honoriani] Atecotti iun. Gallic
Honoriani Mauri sen.	Honoriani Mauri iun.	Honoriani Mauri [iun.] Gallica

In ähnlicher Weise aufgebaut, daher wohl auch dem Honorius zuzuschreiben, ist das dritte Glied der Gruppe:

equites scutarii sen.—equites scutarii iun.—equites secundi  
scutarii iun. (Com., Occ.).

Bei allen diesen Abteilungen—abgesehen von den alleinstehenden Nervii—fand Honorius die seniores und iuniores vor. Anläß-

lich einer Truppenvermehrung<sup>45</sup>—es muß dies die zweite während seiner Regierung gewesen sein, da auch schon einige neu von ihm errichtete *Auxilia Palatina* ein drittes Glied erhielten—wurde aus irgendwelchen Gründen ein von dem früher gebräuchlichen abweichender Vorgang eingeschlagen; eine Reihe von Legionspaaren wurde auf Gruppen zu je 3 ergänzt, von denen eine Abteilung *seniores* und zwei *iuniores* waren. Die jüngeren *iuniores* nannte man nach Ergänzung, Dislokation oder ähnlichem „*Gallicani*“ bzw. „*Britannici*“.

Auf Grund dieser Ausführungen können wir daher als fehlend bezeichnen:

*Salii iuniores. Heruli iuniores. Honoriani victores seniores.*  
*Honoriani ascarii iuniores* (alle 4 im Occ.).

### *Die Legionen der Grenzheere.*

Von den alten Grenzlegionen fehlen, wie der Vergleich mit Cassius Dio und den vatikanischen Säulen zeigt, sieben:

<sup>45</sup> Anlässlich der Aufstellung des Expeditionskorps gegen Gildo (Herbst 397) erwähnt Claudian (bell. Gild. 418 ff.), daß zum Teil alte, zum Teil neu aufgestellte Truppenkörper eingeteilt wurden, und nennt ihre Namen:

*Herculeam* suus *Alcides Joviamque cohortem*  
*Rex ducit superum, premitur nec signifer ullo*  
*Pondere; festinant adeo vexilla moveri.*  
*Nervius insequitur meritusque vocabula Felix*  
*Dictaque ab Augusto legio nomenque probantes*  
*Invicti clipeoque animosi teste Leones.*

In der Not. dign. (Occ.) lassen sich hievon nachweisen:

*cohors Jovia* = V 212 (= VII 76) *Jovii iuniores Gallicani*,  
*Nervius* = V 211 (= VII 75) *sagittarii Nervii Gallicani*,  
*Felix* = VII 217 *felices iuniores Gallicani*,  
*legio Augusta* = V 254 (= VII 151) *tertio Augustani*,  
*Invicti* = V 206 (= VII 127) *invicti iuniores Britannici*,  
*Leones* = V 171 (= VII 65) *leones seniores* oder V 172 (= VII 19) *leones iuniores*, falls nicht—was aber weniger wahrscheinlich ist—eine in der Not. dign. nicht mehr erscheinende Abteilung *leones iuniores Gallicani* damals errichtet wurde.

*cohors Herculea* muß eine Abteilung des Feldheeres (*legio* oder *aux. pal.*) gewesen sein. Ein *aux. pal.* dieses Namens ist in der Not. dign. nicht nachweisbar. Vielleicht ist die

Britannia superior: XX Valeria victrix.

Germania inferior: I Minervia, XXX Ulpia victrix.

Germania superior: VIII Augusta, XXII Primigenia.

Judaea: VI ferrata.

Numidia: III Augusta.

Das Fehlen der britannischen Legion geht darauf zurück, daß Britannia prima unter Diocletian in 3 selbständige Provinzen zerlegt wurde und daß das Kapitel über die neue Provinz, welcher die XX Valeria nun angehörte, in der Notitia dignitatum nicht enthalten ist. Die 4 germanischen Legionen bestanden, wie der ganze Aufbau der Grenzverteidigung in den betreffenden Kapiteln der Notitia dignitatum zeigt, zu dieser Zeit nicht mehr. Ob die VI ferrata in Palästina eingegangen ist oder ob sie bloß infolge eines Versehens im Kapitel Or. XXXIV fehlt, mag dahingestellt bleiben.

Von den Legionen, die Diocletian nach dem Muster der alten Grenzlegionen errichtete und die in der Notitia dignitatum in verschiedener Gestalt erhalten sind; fehlt eine in der Gruppe:

Or. XXXIX: I Jovia, II Herculia (Riparienses).

Occ. V 238 = VII 54: III Herculea (Comitatensis).

Occ. XXXII: V Jovia, VI Herculea (Riparienses).

Während von der ehemaligen Grenzlegion III Herculea nur mehr ein Teil als Legio Comitatensis erhalten ist, scheinen Teile der fehlenden sechsten Legion, die den Namen IV Jovia geführt haben muß, in den Jovii seniores (Occ. V 168 = VII 16) und den Jovii iuniores (Occ. V 184 = VII 42), zwei Auxilia Palatina, weiterbestanden zu haben.

#### *Die Hilfstruppen der Grenzheere.*

Bei den Hilfstruppen der Grenzheere sind die Lücken ungleich größer als bei allen anderen Formationen. Die Ursache hiefür liegt in einer ganzen Reihe von Umständen, zunächst im Wesen der Hilfstruppen. Mommsen<sup>46</sup> weist darauf hin, daß anscheinend das Recht, Bürgertruppen d. h. Legionen aufzustellen, formell nur dem Senate zustand. Es bestand nun allerdings

leg. com. III Herculea gemeint (V 238 = VII 54) und Claudian nennt sie mit dichterischer Freiheit analog und als Gegenstück zur "cohors" Jovia Kohorte.

<sup>46</sup> Hermes XIX. S. 57 f.



keine Gefahr, daß der Senat die Erlaubnis hiezu versagt hätte. Einerseits wollten aber die Kaiser nicht durch ein derartiges Ansinnen die formelle höchste Souveränität des Senates neu deklarieren, anderseits aber auch nicht durch Errichtung von Legionen ohne Senatsbeschluß die gesetzlichen Schranken der kaiserlichen Kompetenz überschreiten. Unter diesen Umständen machten sie von ihrem Rechte, Hilfstruppen aufzustellen, um so eifriger Gebrauch, als sich diese auch sowohl durch den geringeren Sold, wie durch den Ausfall der Altersversorgung, die nur den Legionären gebührte, bedeutend billiger stellten. Es war ferner viel leichter für eine Abteilung von 500 oder 1000 Mann ein homogenes Material zu finden—und dieses mußte ja tunlichst angestrebt werden—als für eine Legion mit rund 6000 Mann. Benötigte man Truppen, so waren einige Auxilien rasch errichtet; hatte man keine Verwendung mehr für sie, so löste man sie auf, ohne auf Tradition oder ähnliche Momente Rücksicht nehmen zu müssen. Deshalb war aber die Zahl der Auxilien auch starken Schwankungen unterworfen, so daß wir schon aus diesem Grunde keine auch nur annähernd lückenlose Reihenfolge in den Listen erwarten dürfen.

Bei der ersten Aufstellung bestanden die Auxilien sicher aus Angehörigen derjenigen Völker, nach denen sie benannt waren. Es mag nun mitunter eine Aushebung nicht den erwarteten Erfolg gehabt haben, so daß nicht die ursprünglich geplante Zahl von Alen und Cohorten erreicht wurde und sich gleich zu Beginn Lücken in der Zählung ergaben. War diese somit schon sehr lückenhaft, als die Errichtung der selbständigen Feldheere erfolgte, so ist durch diese der größte Teil der alten Hilfstruppen verschwunden. Zum Teil wurden sie zur Bildung der Auxilia Palatina verwendet, zum Teil in Pseudocomitatenses umgewandelt; ein beträchtlicher Teil verblieb in den Grenzheeren, aber in geänderter Form, mit neuen Namen und Bezeichnungen. Nur ein geringer Rest erhielt sich in dem alten Gewande.

Wollten wir demnach alle in den Verzeichnissen der Notitia dignitatum fehlenden Hilfstruppen zusammenstellen, so würde ihre Zahl die der erhaltenen um ein vielfaches übertreffen, und überdies wäre es ein sehr undankbares Beginnen, weil wir von vielen nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten können, daß sie jemals bestanden haben.

ERNST VON NISCHER.

## PARMENIDES AND THE *PARMENIDES* OF PLATO.

[The antinomies of the *Parmenides* were composed for the purpose of showing that the Eleatic dialectic of Zeno when applied to the monistic *Being* of Parmenides produces the same paradoxes as when used against pluralism. It is demonstrated that the second part of the dialogue is formally an elaborate parody of the poem of Parmenides and methodically a parody of the logic-chopping of Zeno. By this means the psychological purpose of the dialogue is elucidated, the unity of the dialogue is made evident, and its relationship to the *Sophist* is established.]

Of the numberless problems which commentators have found in the *Parmenides* of Plato the root has been the relationship of the second part of the dialogue to the first, for the two parts seem offhand to be connected only by the arbitrary decision of Parmenides to give an exhibition of dialectical research. More particularly scholars have fretted because in the first part of the dialogue Parmenides advances certain objections to the theory of Ideas which Socrates has presented, and these objections Socrates accepts with the result that Plato seems to admit their cogency. The long history of attempts to explain this shocking fact I shall not repeat here; the most ambitious of such attempts was Henry Jackson's reconstruction of the history of Plato's development which has had a vigorous and malign influence on Platonic studies in spite of the prompt and complete refutation of it given by Paul Shorey.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, serviceable to notice the method Jackson used in his research as far as that method can be followed in his writing, for in the method lies the reason for the results. The problem which he found in the text of the *Parmenides* he resolved by a subtle manipulation of that text and thereafter he sought to explain the dialogues related to the *Parmenides* by means of the theory he had evolved from the *Parmenides* itself, torturing them into a semblance of consistency with the solution he had already devised. I believe that it is necessary for us to examine certain of the dialogues which bear upon the *Parmenides* before we attempt to explain the *Parmenides* itself.

In the *Sophist* a serious investigation is made into the problem of predication, which turns upon the meaning of *Being* and

<sup>1</sup> *Recent Platonism in England* in A. J. P. IX, 1888.

*non-Being*. The Eleatic Stranger first taking up a quotation from the poem of Parmenides demonstrates in traditional Parmenidean style that *non-Being* can not be the object of thought or speech.<sup>2</sup> But he discovers in the process that this is a dangerous saying, for "*Non-Being* reduces its opponent to such helplessness that, whenever he attempts to refute it, it forces him in his very demonstration to contradict himself on the subject."<sup>3</sup> The reason for this is that in the very act of saying that *Non-Being* cannot partake of unity or plurality, he has predicated unity of it, for he has uttered the term "*Non-Being*".<sup>4</sup> Accordingly the Stranger decides that he must "put to the torture the doctrine of his father Parmenides,"<sup>5</sup> and this he does by an examination of the concept of *Being*. His critique of those who say ἐν τὸ πᾶν I must briefly summarize.<sup>6</sup>

(1) Are *Being* and *Unity* two names for the same thing? To say there are two names when there is only one *Being* is absurd; even to say there is a name is meaningless, for if the name is other than the thing named, there are two things; but, if the name and the thing named be identified, the name is either the name of nothing or of itself, i. e. of a name. (Moreover, *Unity* is predicable of one thing only, but *Unity* is predicable of the name—if there be a name; in which case there would be two unities.<sup>7</sup>)

(2) If, as Parmenides says, *Being* is a totality, it has parts. As a whole having parts it may be a unit as partaking of *Unity*, but it cannot be *Unity* for *Unity* is without parts. If it is one by participation, it (*Being*) is distinct from *Unity*, and there arises a plurality of elements. If, to avoid this, we say *Being* is not a whole, though Totality exists, there is existence outside of *Being* and a plurality again. If totality does not exist, *Being*

<sup>2</sup> Sophist, 237A-238C.

<sup>3</sup> Soph., 238D.

<sup>4</sup> Soph., 238E.

<sup>5</sup> Soph., 241D.

<sup>6</sup> Soph., 244B-245E.

<sup>7</sup> At 244D I would read καὶ τὸ ἐν γὰρ ἐνὸς ὄν μόνον καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὖ τὸ ἐν ὄν "And the result will be that *Unity* is predicable of one thing only and on the other hand *Unity* is predicable of the name." The consequence of which is that, if they allow a name to exist, nothing can exist save the name, for otherwise there will be two *Unities*.

is still plurality (for *Being* is not, then, a whole); and it cannot have arisen nor can it exist, for nothing is completed but as a whole. Nor can it have number, for whatever number it has, it has as a whole or sum.

This section of the discussion is closed with the remark, "For a person who says that *Being* is some two things or only one, ten thousand other problems, each one comprising endless difficulties, will appear. . . . However, though we have not examined all the people who quibble about *Being* and *non-Being*,<sup>8</sup> this is enough."

Thereafter there is an examination of "men who give other accounts" of *Being*, materialists and those who claim that true *Being* is immaterial and intelligible. But the purpose of the whole investigation is given explicitly by the Stranger in the words "in order that from every point of view we may see that it is no easier to say what *Being* is than what *Non-Being* is."<sup>9</sup> The conclusion of the whole investigation is that *Non-Being* in a sense *exists* and in a sense *Being* does *not exist* exactly in proportion to the existence of *Otherness*.<sup>10</sup> This is the germ of the entire dialogue. The *Theaetetus* in attempting to define knowledge used a negative approach, starting from opinion, and became entangled in *Non-Being* which, it was found, lay at the basis of false opinion. This is instructive for the understanding of Plato's apparent perversity of method, for in the *Sophist*, in attempting to define an εἶδωλον, i. e. some thing like to what is real but in itself unreal, he proceeds to the discussion of *Being*. If Heraclitus and his followers spent their time in showing the absurdity of a congealed *Being* and Zeno directed the Eleatic defence to the demonstration of the absurdity of *Non-Being*, Plato means to combine the negative arguments of both sides in these dialogues which form a great "Apologia pro doctrina sua" on ontological and epistemological grounds. If in a sense the negative arguments of both sides are true, there is need of

<sup>8</sup> This phrase does not divide the schools meant (Eleatics, Heracliteans, etc.) into two groups as Campbell supposes, for both Eleatics and Heracliteans (and these for Plato subsumed under themselves the minor schools, cf. his remarks on Empedocles Soph. 242D) in speaking of the nature of *Being* felt it necessary to comment on *Non-Being*.

<sup>9</sup> Soph., 246A.

<sup>10</sup> Soph., 256D-257A.

a reconciliation of the two doctrines which split the world apart; and this, he means, is to be found in his own metaphysics which combines the irrefutable parts of the positive doctrine of both schools and stands on a more reasonable ontological basis.

The whole tangle of paradoxes is swept away, then, by the assertion that *Non-Being* does exist, for although it is impossible to think of *Non-Being* apart from *Being* it is no easier to conceive of *Being* without its complementary opposite. But before this conclusion is reached there is a lengthy examination of the champions of immaterial existence,<sup>11</sup> the first part of which demonstrates the necessity of a communion of opposites in their "pure Being," and shows that the conception of the existence which they sponsor is self-contradictory because it makes no provision for such a communion. It is from this criticism that the Stranger proceeds to set forth the doctrine of the communion of ideas and of the complementary existence of *Being* and *non-Being*. The conclusion of the discussion amounts to a complete denunciation of Parmenides. We have gone far beyond disobeying his express command, says the Stranger,<sup>12</sup> for we have not only spoken of *non-Being* and searched for it but have proved that it exists and have defined it. Now to go about trying to produce contradiction in argument is the act of a child who is just feeling his power, and to attempt to separate "the All" from everything is the unseemly action of an unlearned and unphilosophical person. This amounts to calling Parmenides the fountain-head of all Sophistry, for as the sophist is *ἀντιλογικός*, Parmenides, who by his dictum of *Non-Being* gave rise to all these senseless antinomies, is the most *ἀντιλογικός* of all.

At the beginning of the *Philebus*,<sup>13</sup> too, Socrates comments upon the paradoxes which play about the concepts of *Unity* and *Plurality* ascribing the difficulty to the inherent weakness of human understanding and remarking that the trouble is not new and will not ever cease. He recognizes the difficulties which are caused by the problem in the theory of Ideas, but concludes that by a systematic dialectic coupled with a persistent faith in searching for the Idea of each thing we may avoid the pitfalls of eristic.

<sup>11</sup> Soph., 248A-258C.

<sup>12</sup> Soph., 258C-259E.

<sup>13</sup> Phileb., 14C-17A.

This eristic is pointedly attributed in the *Phaedrus*<sup>14</sup> to Zeno whom Socrates there calls "the Eleatic Palamedes," and his description of the effect of this process, "the result is that to his audience the same things seem to be like and unlike, one and many, at rest and, on the other hand, in motion," exactly fits the second part of the *Parmenides*. This part of the dialogue is composed of eight divisions<sup>15</sup> which are meant to exhaust the consequences of the complementary propositions, the *One* is, and the *One* is not. In accordance with his previous formula<sup>16</sup> Parmenides draws the conclusions which follow from the existence of the *One* and the non-existence of the *One*, first in respect to the *One* itself, then in respect to what is other than the *One*. But each of these four investigations falls into two contradictory sections, so that the results reached are: A—If the *One* is, then (1) The *One* is nothing, (2) The *One* is everything, (3) The others are multifarious and self-contradictory, (4) The others are nothing and the *One* is everything; B—If the *One* is not, then (1) The non-existent *One* is multifarious and self-contradictory, (2) the non-existent *One* is nothing, (3) the others are other than one another, are multifarious, and only apparent, (4) The others are nothing.<sup>17</sup> This result is accomplished by a systematic abuse of *εἶναι*,<sup>18</sup> the meaning being swung from the copulative to the existential and stress being put now on the exclusive and again on the extended meaning of the word.<sup>19</sup> The mechanism of fallacy is precisely the same in the section I have labeled B as in A, so that we may summarily disregard all explanations of the dialogue which are

<sup>14</sup> *Phaedrus*, 261D.

<sup>15</sup> The passage 155E-157B is really a critique of the first two divisions. It is to be considered hereafter.

<sup>16</sup> 135E-136A:—*μή μόνον εἰ ἔστιν ἕκαστον ὑποτιθέμενον σκοπεῖν τὰ συμβαίνοντα ἐκ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔστι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑποτίθεσθαι.*

<sup>17</sup> A1 = 137C — 142B, A2 = 142B — 155E, A3 = 157B — 159B, A4 = 159B — 160B, B1 = 160B — 163B, B2 = 163B — 164B, B3 = 164B — 165E, B4 = 165E — *fin.*

<sup>18</sup> There are other sources of fallacy which appear sporadically, e. g. the juggling of *ἕτερον* and *ἄλλον* in 164B ff.

<sup>19</sup> *εἶναι* in the copulative sense in A1, 4, B2, 4, in the existential sense in A2, 3, B5, 7. The results of A1 correspond to those of B2; and those of A2 to those of B1; those of A4 to those of B4; and those of A3 almost to those of B3, though in the last case it is admitted that the others only appear to have the qualities assigned to them.

based on the supposition that this section contains the key to the argument, a defense of the existence of the *One*. In like manner we are justified in rejecting Henry Jackson's notion that A2 and A3 are meant to present Plato's later theory of the Ideas.<sup>20</sup> These sections are based on the same fallacies as are B2 and B3.

Returning to the investigation of the *Sophist* we find that these paradoxes are exactly paralleled there, though in shorter compass. In the examination of *Non-Being*<sup>21</sup> B2 is paralleled by *Sophist* 237C-E and B1 by *Sophist* 238B-C, while B3 and B4 are reproduced by *Sophist* 240A-C where the Sophist defends himself by showing that if *Being* is not, *εἰδωλα* which are *other* only seem to be *other* but really are *not*. In the passage concerning *Being*, *Sophist* 244C-D parallels A1, *Sophist* 244E-245A amounts to A2, and *Sophist* 245B-D matches A3 and A4.<sup>22</sup>

The purpose of these paradoxes in the *Sophist* is clear from Plato's own words, and the result of them is the formulation of a method of predication on the basis of the explanation of *non-Being* as differentiation. Since the *Parmenides* develops the same paradoxes in the same way, it would be reasonable to suppose that the purpose of the demonstration is the same. However, the resolution of the difficulty is not given in the *Parmenides*, which fact may lead careless readers to conclude that Plato thought such reasoning valid when he wrote that dialogue and only later, seeing the fallacies and explanations of them, wrote the *Sophist* as an answer to his previous demonstration. I cannot believe that Plato "thought with his pen" as this explanation supposes. Moreover, it has been abundantly proved that Plato knew the nature and cause of these fallacies before he wrote the *Parmenides*.<sup>23</sup> But, in addition, he has not failed to give a hint of the true solution in the *Parmenides* itself.

<sup>20</sup> Journal of Philology XI, page 330.

<sup>21</sup> Plato treats *δν* and *εἶναι* as synonyms in the Parmenidean sense. Whether the Eleatic doctrine was exactly so or not, Plato certainly took it in this sense. Cf. Theaet. 180E, Soph. 242D, and Proclus, In Parmenid. V (Cousin, p. 1032, lines 35-40) on Plato's interpretation.

<sup>22</sup> This section of the *Sophist* shows the intimate connection of A3 with A1 and of A4 with A2 for it implies the latter conclusions simply by stressing the former, of which they are merely the reverse.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Paul Shorey, *Unity of Plato's Thought*, p. 57 note.

The first two sections of that dialogue, A1 and A2, develop, on the basis of the arguments used by the Eleatics to prove the notion of *non-Being* self-contradictory, the same inconsistencies in the notion of pure *Being*; there follows a section<sup>24</sup> which maintains that on the basis of the preceding arguments it is necessary that in a sense the *One* must partake of *Being* and not partake of it, hence that the *One* will become and perish, and that this means that "when it becomes *One* it perishes as many and when it becomes many it perishes as *One*." Although this hint is not developed into the doctrine of the *Sophist*, it is obviously the same thing, and, as if to point his readers still more clearly to the clue of the trouble, in B1, while developing the consequences of the proposition, the *One* is not, he says, "So, since *Being* must have a share in *non-Being* and *non-Being* must have a share in *Being*, it is necessary for the *One*, since it is not, to have a share in *Being* in order that it may not be." In consequence of this we must be sure that the antinomies of the *Parmenides* are meant to serve the same purpose as those of the *Sophist*, i. e., to demonstrate that the hypothesis of simple *Being* leads to the same contradictions as does that of *non-Being*, that this fact should once for all be recognized in order that these childish squabbles between *Being* and *non-Being* may stop, and that Plato is well aware at the time of this dialogue what the answer to the difficulty is. To ask why he did not develop that answer is, in the phrase of Professor Shorey, to ask why he did not write the *Sophist* instead of the *Parmenides*. If we can see somewhat more clearly the artistic motive of this dialogue, we shall see why even the hints to the answer which are given are due to Plato's care in guiding his reader. Had he been less concerned for his audience, he might well have omitted these guide-posts which have been so carelessly neglected by those they were meant to aid.

In the two pages<sup>25</sup> which introduce the demonstration of *Parmenides* we find certain definite indications of the meaning which Plato desired to convey by the last part of the dialogue. The preceding debate has ended without tangible result, and *Parmenides* advises *Socrates* that a mere impulse toward philosophy will not carry him far unless, in his youth, he exercises himself in that conversation which is considered useless by most

<sup>24</sup> *Parm.*, 155E-157B.

<sup>25</sup> 135C-137C.



people. This is the process which is later demonstrated; so that we may understand it to be a necessary propaedeutic to the search for truth but not itself that search. And we must feel that the exercise has justified itself entirely if it has in the end made us more capable of meeting such paradoxes hereafter without being paralyzed by them. There follow, then, two prescriptions for this exercise; <sup>26</sup> first, it must be an examination of abstract intelligibles and not of phenomenal objects; second, it must be an examination of the conclusions following not only from a given hypothesis but also from the opposite of that same hypothesis. Both of these prescriptions are corrections of Zeno's method, and Parmenides implies this when he gives them.<sup>27</sup> Zeno found it easy enough to set up a plurality of objects and by arguing from the existence of a plurality to show that such an hypothesis is self-contradictory; Socrates had previously objected <sup>28</sup> to Zeno's argument that its restriction to objects of sense made it simple and not at all striking, that if a man wanted to accomplish any real feat with such arguments he should produce these paradoxes concerning abstract notions. Moreover, he had not demonstrated what conclusions would follow from the supposition that the *One* exists. This prescription, then, amounts to a criticism of the Eleatic dialectic. Plato desires to point out that the *reductio ad absurdum* of abstract notions must be carried out in the field of abstractions (i. e., that to prove by Zeno's method the absurdity of supposing material objects to be in motion is no proof at all of the absurdity of abstract motion) and that you cannot support an hypothesis by proving its opposite will lead to absurdity unless you prove also that the positive hypothesis itself will not fall into the same pit. That this applies to Zeno and his Eleatic dialectic is certain. Does Plato mean to refer it to Parmenides, too?

I have already said that the investigation of *Being* and *non-Being* in the *Sophist* begins and ends with a quotation from the poem of Parmenides and that that discussion is closed with a passage which implies that Parmenides was the father of the

<sup>26</sup> 135E-136C.

<sup>27</sup> 135D—*τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς γυμνασίας; οὗτος ὅνπερ ἤκουσας Ζήνωνος. πλὴν τοῦτό γε κτλ.*

<sup>28</sup> 129A.

sophistical method. The quotations from the poem and the references to it are so frequent in Plato's writing that we may be sure when Plato was writing the *Parmenides* he had nothing more vividly before his mind than the poem which he mentions whenever he talks of the paradoxes of *Being*. He has told us as much at the very beginning of the dialogue. As soon as Zeno has ended his reading and Socrates has summarized it, Socrates remarks to Parmenides:<sup>29</sup> "Zeno has written the same thing as you wrote and has tried to deceive us into thinking it is something else."<sup>30</sup> In this manner Plato reminds us that the Eleatic arguments are all of a piece and that if the flaw in one be discovered the fallacy of the whole system will have been laid bare. When Zeno says that his book was not written "with the intention of keeping people in the dark as if it were doing something great" and that it was simply the outburst of "youthful contentiousness", we cannot take these to be historical explanations of the origin of Zeno's writings. Certainly his book was taken seriously by mathematicians and physicists,<sup>31</sup> whatever the original purpose or the exact time of its composition may have been. But Plato had observed how the first taste of these paradoxes intoxicated young men, and he is here putting into Zeno's mouth words with which Socrates elsewhere reprimands such childish quibbling.<sup>32</sup> We may feel pretty certain, then, that Plato believed Zeno's work was considered to be important by its author and that Zeno is here made to pass on himself judgments that were Plato's and not his own.

That *Parmenides* and his poem are the butt at which the second part of the dialogue is aimed is put beyond doubt by the statement he makes just before beginning,<sup>33</sup> when he says "Since we've decided to play a laborious game let's begin with me myself and my hypothesis."<sup>34</sup> The second part, then, is an

<sup>29</sup> *Parm.*, 128A-B.

<sup>30</sup> Zeno does not deny this. He corrects Socrates (128B-E) on two points, however, saying that his book has no serious and cryptic meaning and that he wrote it in his youth in a spirit of contention rather than in his prime in a spirit of ambition.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Die Grundlagenkrisis der griechischen Mathematik*, von H. Hasse und H. Scholz, S. 10 ff.; 60 f.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Phileb.*, 15D-16A.

<sup>33</sup> 137B.

<sup>34</sup> Plato seems to apologize for making the old man parody himself

attack on Eleaticism by the father of the school, a parody of the method used in Zeno's book, but not a parody of the form of that book. For Parmenides has said that Zeno used only half of the necessary attack and he himself proposes to examine the positive as well as the negative proposition. We should be better able to appreciate Plato's jibe at Parmenides, if we knew whether he thought the two parts of his poem formed a unified whole or not. It seems impossible to discover that; but he was certainly aware that his readers would think of the apparent contradiction between the two parts of the poem when in his parody they read of Parmenides going on at length about *non-Being* and *plurality* just as he had really described the world of opinion which he insisted was non-existent, although he had prohibited the mere mention of "that which is not." And if Plato had given an interpretation of the poem in his usual manner of interpreting poets he would probably have said: "Parmenides far surpasses his pupil Zeno, for after he had set up the hypothesis: *Being is*, he saw the necessity for examining the results not only in respect of the existing Being, which he said was *One*, but also of the non-existing many, which he said *were not*. But he was not thorough, for he did not explain what the many would be in respect of the existing many." And it is this corrected and augmented form of Parmenides' poem which is the demonstration that forms the second part of the dialogue.

The first four sections, then (A1-4), correspond to the first part of the poem, the second four (B1-4) to the second part of it. But there is nothing in the poem corresponding to A3-4 and B1-2, and this is exactly Plato's complaint and his contribution to the solution of the paradox. Moreover, by pressing the Eleatic misuse of the copula Plato shows that the first part of Parmenides' poem presents only one-half of the possible conclusions and does not even present them fully, A1 and A2 cancel each other and the statement, the *One is*, leads to the same inconsistencies into which Zeno by the same method drove the pluralists. Worse still, to accept the conclusions we must suppose an *instantaneous*, and this only pushes us to the further

by insisting that it is an action fitting only to a private company.  
 Cf. 136D: *ἐὶ μὲν οὖν πολλοὺς ἡμεν οὐκ ἀν' ἀξίον ἢν δεῖσθαι*. 137A: *ἐπειδὴ αὐτοὶ ἔσμεν*.

extremity of saying (instead of "it exists and does not exist at the same time") "it neither exists nor does not exist."<sup>35</sup>

In the sections A3 and A4, which constitute an examination of the nature of the *Others* on the assumption that the *One* exists, Plato's satire is most sharp against Parmenides. This is the very set of consequences which according to the Parmenides of the dialogue<sup>36</sup> should have been drawn in the first part of the poem if it had been correctly written, and the result of the reasoning is that the *Others* must be "one perfect whole consisting of parts" and, further, that each of these parts must "partake of the One."<sup>37</sup> Thereupon, the *Unity* of the existing *One* is stressed; and now it appears that the *Others* have no qualities whatsoever. This conclusion is strictly in accord with Eleatic doctrine; too much so it appears. For immediately the sentence is added: "In that case if there is *One*, the *One* is all

<sup>35</sup> Höfding (*Bemerkungen über den Platonischen Dialog Parmenides*, Berlin, 1921), pp. 34-5, thinks that when Plato says τὸ ἐξαιφνης is "out of time" he means that it exists in the world of Ideas. But there is no question of the Ideas here. Plato is simply making Parmenides use against his own doctrine the kind of argument Zeno used against his opponents. But Plato outdoes Zeno, who made his opponents say ἡ διὰ τὸς φερομένη ἔστηκεν (Arist. Phys. 239B 30), by making Parmenides say that according to his hypothesis the *One* οὐδὲ κινεῖται ἂν τότε οὐδ' ἂν σταλῇ. Plato's hint of the solution which we have discussed previously is given in the line οὐσίας μετέχειν ποτέ . . . μὴ μετέχειν αὐ ποτε οὐσίας. What follows in this discussion is a parody of Zeno, whose statement that at any given time a moving object is stationary is exactly repeated (156C) ὅταν δὲ κινούμενον τε ἴσσηται. [It seems probable that Plato in speaking of τὸ ἐξαιφνης is referring to such infinitesimal processes as that used by Antiphon to square the circle (cf. Diels Vorsok. frag. 13). Here the instant at which the inscribed and circumscribed polygons will coincide and so become a circle is 'out of time' because the process is infinite. It is the more fitting that Plato should put this bad mathematics, which his associate Eudoxus was replacing with his theory of proportions, into the mouth of Parmenides that by means of it he might characterize *Being* as neither existing nor not existing, since Antiphon himself was a follower of the Eleatics (cf. Diels frag. 1).]

<sup>36</sup> 136B: περὶ οὗτου ἂν αἰεὶ ὑποθῇ ὡς ὄντος καὶ ὡς οὐκ ὄντος . . . δεῖ σκοπεῖν τὰ συμβαλόντα πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς ἕνα ἑκαστον τῶν ἄλλων κτλ.

<sup>37</sup> There is special sarcasm here in making Zeno's own method force the Eleatic theory to depend upon some kind of participation, the very doctrine which Zeno and Parmenides consider inconceivable when Socrates presents it as an element in his theory of Ideas. In 158A3-158B4 Parmenides asserts exactly what he argues against in 131A-D.

things (note πάντα not πᾶν) and is not *One*. Waddell in his commentary objects "this summing-up seems rather a *non-sequitur*". It is rather a fallacy based upon the misuse of the negative proposition which is the basis of the Eleatic paradoxes and the equivocal use of πᾶν in the singular and plural. If the demonstration is meant to be a parody, as I think it is, the reasoning is here very apt. However, Plato probably had a further reason for introducing this last, seemingly unconnected, sentence. He desires nowhere to give any countenance to the Eleatic conclusions and insists on showing that even where they seem to be partly justified if they be steadily pursued they will suddenly turn out to be the very opposite to what they seem. Here Parmenides in the course of proving his favorite thesis, the emptiness of the *Others*, tumbles into the startling conclusion that the *One* is not *One* but *Many*.

The last four sections, interpreted as a parody of the second half of the poem, take on meaning where they had none before. Parmenides is made to do exactly what he continually claimed was impossible, examine the nature of the non-existent. As in the *Sophist* Plato makes the Stranger call special attention to his disobedience of Parmenides' injunction by quoting the poem, he here makes the poet disobey himself at dizzy length. However Plato may have interpreted the second part of the poem, it doubtlessly amused him to see so much time spent on the detailed description of objects which the poet insisted all the while do not exist. In B3 and B4 Plato has hinted, however, at a correction of Parmenides' attitude to the non-existing *Others*. Since he had said that they do not exist and then had proceeded to describe them, he doubtlessly meant that they seem to exist although they do not. In the last two sections of the dialogue this is the conclusion, the *Others seem* to be many, the *Others are* nothing. But this conclusion is reached from the assumption that the *One* is not. In other words, it seems that Plato means to say: "Parmenides mistakenly came to the right conclusion concerning the *Others* by proceeding from the wrong premises." We cannot, of course, be sure that he thought this was the meaning Parmenides gave to the second part of his poem any more than we can say that Plato really believed the poem of Simonides meant what Socrates in the *Protagoras* says it

meant; but this is the interpretation he obviously chooses to present for his purpose here.<sup>38</sup>

As in B3 and B4 Plato shows that the conclusions of Parmenides concerning the *Others* follow rather from the non-existence of the *One* than from its existence, so in B1 and B2 he shows that the characteristics attaching to *One* if it does not exist are exactly the same as those which it has if it does exist. It is worth noting that of the eight conclusions drawn in the eight sections only the last two could in any way be acceptable to the Eleatics and they presuppose the proposition that the *One* is not. The others, however closely the argument promises to draw to Parmenides, all turn out as stark denials of his thesis.

But without a detailed examination of this demonstration of Parmenides, can anyone who reads the final sentence doubt that Plato meant to parody at one stroke the poem of Parmenides and the dialectical method of Zeno? "Let it be pronounced that, whether *One* exists or does not exist, it itself and those that are other than it, in relation to themselves and to one another are and are not all things in all ways and appear to be and do not appear to be." And even if Plato had not meant it, could any Athenian have missed the tragic sarcasm, could any Greek have read that sentence without a reminiscent smile at the sublimity of Parmenides and the cleverness of Zeno?

Höfding,<sup>39</sup> much against his will, saw that the second part of the dialogue was a criticism of the Eleatics; but he seems to have believed that it was inadvertently so. He says: "Allererst muss gesagt werden, dass das Thema für die Anwendung der neuen Methode nicht glücklich gewählt war. Es war ja doch der Platonismus, nicht der Eleatismus der untersucht werden sollte." We may, I think, proceed on the presumption that whether in the end Plato succeeded or failed he always was well aware of his purpose. So, seeing that the second part is an attack on the Eleatics, we should seek to discover why Plato attacked them and not take refuge in the subterfuge that he did

<sup>38</sup> A3 and A4 bear this out. They cannot be meant to represent the second part of the poem, for the conclusions reached from them are that the *Others* are everything and the *Others* are nothing. They do, however, provide the companion-piece to the criticism of B3 and B4 since they say in substance, the *Others* are everything and nothing on the premise that the *One* is.

<sup>39</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 25-6.

so without knowing it. Höffding's misconception arises from two common mistakes. He believes that the subject of the demonstration is the concept of *Unity* instead of which Plato should have chosen to discuss the concept of *Identity*, and he thinks the demonstration should be a direct defense of the theory of Ideas which has been discussed in the first part of the dialogue. We have already seen that in the parallel investigation of the *Sophist* the problem is that aroused by the concepts of *Being* and *non-Being* and concerns *Unity* only in the specific Eleatic identification of *Unity* and *Being*. In the *Parmenides*, too, the antinomies rest upon the abuse of the verb 'to be', and the *One* is chosen for the demonstration only because it was the favorite thesis of Parmenides. The *One* here is practically synonymous with *Being*, and the whole implication of the introduction to the second part of the dialogue is that the same kind of results can be reached no matter what the subject of the discussion may be, if only you use the method which Parmenides is about to apply. Höffding believes that the concept of *Identity* should have been investigated because he feels that by so doing Plato might have answered the objections to the Ideas brought by Parmenides in the first part of the dialogue. We must, then, decide what the character of this part really is, and what is its relationship to the latter part. The occasion of the entire discussion is the reading of Zeno's book, and Plato could not have more clearly entitled the dialogue a discussion of the Eleatic method. Socrates introduces his theory of Ideas only as a possible explanation of the apparent paradoxes into which Zeno has been driving his pluralistic adversaries; and the attack upon Socrates' suggestion is really an attempt on the part of Parmenides to defend the validity of his pupil's reasoning. Of these objections, the first <sup>40</sup> is a quibble made plausible by shifting from Socrates' analogy of "the all-pervading day" to the essentially different analogy of a sail-cloth; and at the bottom of the objection lies the thesis that *Being* is indivisible. This argument is developed abstractly <sup>41</sup> by the tacit predication of material qualities to abstract Ideas (e. g., any *part* of the *Idea* of equality would be *smaller* than the *Idea* itself and yet, by the theory, the object which has this part smaller than equality will thereby be rendered equal to something). The Ideas are, then, said to be open

<sup>40</sup> 131A-C.

<sup>41</sup> 131D-E.

to the objection of an infinite regress,<sup>42</sup> an objection which depends upon debasing the Idea to the level of material objects and is due primarily to a juggling of the verb "to be". It amounts to saying that the statement "Smallness is smallness" is equivalent to the judgment "An Idea exists which has the predicate small."<sup>43</sup>

The same objection of an infinite regression is brought against the device of "imitation of the Ideas by objects", and it is based upon the same fallacious degradation of the Ideas to the level of phenomena.<sup>44</sup> Upon this follows a dissertation of the impossibility of any communion between the world of Ideas and that of Phenomena. This difficulty Plato always recognized and the complete solution of it has never been found. But we should notice the aptness of its introduction here. It was a doctrine dear to the Eleatics that "Being is not more or less";<sup>45</sup> if, then, the Idea truly is, the phenomenal world cannot exist even as a "less real imitation" of the Ideas or as an "approximation" to them. Nor, if the phenomenal world is not, can there be any relationship between *Being* and *non-Being*. With this is linked the objection that intercommunion of Ideas still remains communion only in the world of Ideas and cannot have any connection with the phenomenal world. Here we may remember with profit that in the *Sophist* the doctrine of the communion of Ideas was set forth in conjunction with the theory of the complementary existence of *Being* and *non-Being* as a defiant answer to Parmenides. Obviously Plato felt that the two prob-

<sup>42</sup> 132A-B.

<sup>43</sup> This danger of the infinite regress is warded off in Republic 597C by saying "There is only *One* Idea of each class." There the essential difference between Ideas and material objects is explained by saying that God made the former. Elsewhere the difference is stated abstractly in the terminology used for defining the Ideas. They are (Tim. 48E) νοητὸν καὶ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτ' ὄν, (Symp. 211A), αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτὸ μεθ' αὐτοῦ μονοειδὲς δὲ ὄν. The ordinary epithet of an Idea αὐτὸ δ' ἑστῶ (cf. e. g., Phaedo 75C) is used just for the purpose of forestalling the kind of fallacy Parmenides introduces; it says in effect that the "quality" of an Idea is the Idea itself, its subject, and not a characteristic of it, its predicate.

<sup>44</sup> 132D-133A. For a discussion of the fallacy in this argument, cf. A. E. Taylor's paper in *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* XVI N. S.

<sup>45</sup> Parmenides fragment VIII, lines 47-48 (Diels F. d. V.).



lems were connected and that both objections rested upon ignorance of the true nature of predication.<sup>46</sup> He constantly refers to the difficulty of bridging the chasm between the two worlds, but he is inclined to lay the fault to the inherent weakness of the human mind.<sup>47</sup> By firm faith, a knowledge of the true dialectic, and long practice he felt that man could finally cross over from the world of appearance to the world of truth.<sup>48</sup>

There remains one more passage in the first part to examine. After Parmenides has argued against the possibility of participation, Socrates suggests that perhaps the Ideas are simply thoughts in souls.<sup>49</sup> Of this short shrift is made. Either everything will consist of thoughts and so will think, or, though everything is a thought, it is thoughtless. Socrates at once abandons the modified theory as unreasonable. Now this is the only place in all his writings that Plato suggests the theory which has come to be called in modern times *Idealism*, and he proposes and rejects it in twenty lines. It is obvious from this passage as well as others that he never held a theory of Ideas in the idealistic sense. Why then does he have Socrates propose such an interpretation here? It is possible that there were philosophers living at the time when Plato wrote this dialogue who did teach some such idealism; but we have no knowledge of them, and it is noteworthy that Plato does not elsewhere refer to them or their doctrine. It is more plausible to say that this is the kind of interpretation which might be given by a young man, by a student in the Academy for example, when he was being harassed with the difficulties of hypostatized Ideas. Certainly Plato here insists that when he speaks of Ideas he means them to be understood as having separate and real existence. But, I think, there is a further reason for introducing the matter at this point. The theory of Ideas as developed here into idealism would remind the reader of a hard saying of Parmenides himself: τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ νοεῖν ἐστίν τε καὶ εἶναι.<sup>50</sup> Whatsoever is the true meaning of that sentence, Plato would cer-

<sup>46</sup> That Plato took the foundation of these objections to be the paradox of "the one and the many" he expressly says in *Philebus* 15B-C.

<sup>47</sup> *Charmid.* 169A, *Phileb.* 15D.

<sup>48</sup> *Phileb.* 16C-17A, *Sympos.* 211C, and *Parmenides* 135B-C.

<sup>49</sup> 132B-C.

<sup>50</sup> *Parmenides frag.* V (Diels F. d. V.).

tainly feel that it was the outcome of that treacherous manipulation of the copulative verb; he does not want such meanings read into his doctrine; and in this passage Socrates is warned—and with true Platonic humor by Parmenides himself—that, if he should attempt such an escape from his difficulties, he would fall into the false doctrine of the Eleatics who confuse *Being* and *Thinking*.

The first part of the dialogue then serves as an example of the way in which the Eleatics meet the answers to the paradoxes with which they defend their doctrines. Parmenides has used against Socrates arguments based on the same equivocation as are the paradoxes of Zeno's book. Instead of quoting that book which his readers might examine if they would, Plato gives an example of the same technique used against his own doctrine and uses this as the occasion for the second part, a complete parody of the Eleatic method. It is strange that the demonstration of Parmenides should ever have been taken as a serious example of Platonic dialectic. It is at best only the first step in Plato's method as the *Sophist* amply proves, for when an hypothesis is found to lead you to two inconsistent conclusions, you must examine and correct the hypothesis as Plato does in that dialogue.

Why Plato does not stop to demonstrate the fallacy in Parmenides' objections now becomes clear. He means to make these objections look as plausible as possible and then to cut the ground from under him, not by a formal rebuttal but with a demonstration of the manner in which, by the equivocal use of the verb "to be", any hypothesis—even the hypothesis of Parmenides himself—can be made to result in exactly opposite conclusions. The second part of the dialogue, for the reason that it is a parody of the Eleatic method applied to the doctrine of Parmenides—and by Parmenides himself—, is a complete answer to the objections raised in the first part. Besides, it is a horrible example set up to warn all those who are tempted to indulge in the legerdemain of *Being* and *non-Being*. The *Sophist* gives a succinct and serious analysis of this sleight-of-hand and the answer to its mystical magic; the *Parmenides* is content to set the intelligent thinking that it is not safe to use the two-edged sword of paradox in the search for truth.

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## THE *DIRITAS* OF TIBERIUS

[An investigation of the remarks ascribed to Tiberius confirms the charge of *diritas* brought against him by Augustus, Tacitus and others. His harsh remarks are almost always made under provocation, but they are still tactless and cruel and readily explain the unpopularity of the emperor. This *diritas* seems to have been characteristic of him before his accession and throughout his reign.]

History has presented the emperor Tiberius to us in the guise of a misanthrope. It is true that his affection for his first wife, from whom he was cruelly separated for reasons of state, and his fond devotion to his brother Drusus<sup>1</sup> are bright flashes in the dismal life of Tiberius Claudius Nero, but such illumination is most conspicuous for its rarity. His step-father, Augustus, expressed his disapproval of the "harshness, bitterness, and intolerance" of Tiberius' ways;<sup>2</sup> Theodore of Gadara referred to Tiberius as "mud kneaded with blood,"<sup>3</sup> while his enemies depicted him as a monster of cruelty.

Let us see whether this picture of the misanthrope will be justified by a study of the remarks made by Tiberius in his dealings with his fellow-men. Time has spared for us a really surprising number of sayings of the emperor which furnish material for our investigation.

The relations between Tiberius and his family were fraught with many unpleasantnesses.<sup>4</sup> In spite of some charming letters of solicitude and praise addressed by Augustus to his step-son,<sup>5</sup> we find that Augustus still had doubts about Tiberius' character. In view of his strictures mentioned above and his letters condemning Tiberius, which Livia treasured and revealed in a fit of rage long after her husband's death,<sup>6</sup> it is possible to consider as genuine the alleged remark of Augustus on his deathbed. It was commonly believed that the dying emperor, after a long

<sup>1</sup> G. P. Baker, *Tiberius Caesar*, 1929, p. 62; though Tiberius may have sometimes disagreed with Drusus I believe, as Baker does, that Tiberius loved his younger brother.

<sup>2</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, XXI, 2 and LI.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, LVII; Dio, LVIII, frg. Const. Man., V, 1974.

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, LI: Mention is made of his *odium in necessitudines*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 4-7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, LI, 1.

conference with his son and heir, was overheard by his chamberlains to remark when Tiberius left the room, "Unhappy people of Rome, who will come under jaws that move so slowly."<sup>7</sup> In this connection Suetonius adds, "Not even of this fact am I unaware, namely that some people have reported that Augustus openly and without dissimulation disapproved so much of the harshness (*diritatem*) of Tiberius' manners that he sometimes cut short his freer and more joyous conversation at the appearance of Tiberius."<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps this *diritas* went far towards antagonizing Tiberius' relatives. It must surely have played a part in the emperor's relations with Agrippina, if we may judge from the following anecdote in Suetonius: "When Agrippina, his daughter-in-law, was complaining about something too freely after the death of her husband, Tiberius took her by the hand and quoted the Greek verse, 'If you be not empress, little daughter, do you think that you are being injured?'"<sup>9</sup> Doubtless, the haughty, spirited Agrippina had vexed Tiberius excessively, but his remark, ironical as it was, can have inspired nothing but hatred in the woman's violent and imperious soul.

History says that Tiberius frequently admonished (*frequenter admonuit*) Livia "to abstain from too great matters which did not become a woman;"<sup>10</sup> and we know that from the time of his accession he refused to sanction the immoderate honors voted her and did not permit her any extravagance of conduct. The freedom accorded her by Augustus (*sicut sub marito solita esset*)<sup>11</sup> must have increased her resentment of Tiberius' frequent rebukes, so their relations grew increasingly strained until Livia was finally removed from taking part in state affairs, and it was perhaps chiefly on her account that Tiberius withdrew to Capreae.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI, 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, LIII: "Si non dominaris," inquit, "filiola, iniuriam te accipere existimas?"; Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 52: audita haec raram occulti pectoris vocem elicere, correptamque Graeco versu admonuit non ideo laedi quia non regnaret. This incident falls in the year 26 A. D.

<sup>10</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, L, 3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> See Dio, LVII, 12; Suetonius, *Tib.*, LI-LII.

One of the keenest disappointments of the emperor was, doubtless, his own son, Drusus, about whom Dio writes as follows: "He [Tiberius] became angry with his son Drusus who was both very licentious and very cruel, so that the sharpest swords are called Drusian from him, and he reproved him often both in private and in public. And on one occasion he said to him in the presence of many people, 'As long as I am alive, you shall do nothing violent or haughty, and if you even dare anything, not when I am dead either.'" <sup>13</sup> The sternness of the remark, well deserved as it doubtless was, indicates a complete alienation of affection between the two, and the emperor's words could not have improved the situation.

Tiberius' wife, Julia, was treated with the utmost severity by her husband after he came to the throne, if we may trust our sources.<sup>14</sup> She had not been a faithful wife, and the emperor Tiberius can have had little but bitterness and dislike in his soul for the infamous Julia.

Two other members of the imperial family, both in time emperors, met with irritating rebukes from Tiberius. One of these was Gaius Caligula. Tiberius once said that "Gaius was living to be the destruction of himself and of all, and that he [Tiberius] was rearing a viper for the Roman people and a Phaethon for the world."<sup>15</sup> Nor did he refrain from insult or ridicule to Gaius' face, for in the course of a chance conversation, when Caligula was making fun of Lucius Sulla, Tiberius prophesied that Caligula "would have all of Sulla's vices and not one of his virtues;"<sup>16</sup> at the same time, as he was weeping and embracing the younger of his grandsons, he noted the cruel glance of Caligula and said, 'You will kill him, and someone else will kill you.'<sup>17</sup>

The future emperor Claudius met with an amusing though

<sup>13</sup> LVII, 13, 1-2. Dio gives this remark in his treatment of the year 14 A. D., but the words may have been spoken at a later date.

<sup>14</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, L, 1. At the time of her banishment, however, Tiberius is said to have tried to reconcile Augustus to Julia.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.*, *Cal.*, XI.

<sup>16</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, VI, 46: omnia Sullae vitia et nullam eiusdem virtutem habiturum praedixit. These words are probably to be assigned to 37 A. D., the year under which Tacitus gives them.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*: "Occides hunc tu," inquit, "et te alius." This, of course, may well have been a story which was circulated after the event.

unpleasant rebuke at the hands of his paternal uncle, when, not satisfied with the *consularia ornamenta*, he wrote urgently demanding the actual magistracy. Tiberius' only reply was a note to the effect that he "had sent him forty gold pieces for the holidays of the Saturnalia and Sigillaria."<sup>18</sup> Such an answer to an urgent request for the consulship was putting Claudius in his place with a vengeance. Claudius' rôle was to play "mora" or shake the dice, but he could not hold the consulship.

Thus we see Tiberius estranged from most of his family, and in his remarks there is a spirit which he was doubtless entitled to feel in all the cases, but the expression of which must have added fuel to the flames of mistrust and dislike for Tiberius that smouldered in the breasts of Agrippina, Drusus, Gaius, and Claudius.

Officials and people of importance received their share of pungent comments which were not without a shade of harshness. So when Aemilius Rectus, prefect of Egypt from about 1 to 17 A. D., sent Tiberius more money than he had stipulated, the emperor replied that he wanted his sheep "shorn and not shaven."<sup>19</sup> Very likely the rescript was in the normal curt style of the emperor, consisting probably of the one sentence. The rebuke might well antagonize the prefect, though we cannot but sympathize with Tiberius and the unfortunate taxpayers of Egypt. This affair may possibly belong to the year 14 A. D., where it is given by Dio.

Tiberius, who himself accumulated a vast fortune estimated at two billion seven hundred million sesterces,<sup>20</sup> had, as we know from the *Annales* of Tacitus, little sympathy for spend-thrifts.<sup>21</sup> When, therefore, a certain Acilius Buta of praetorian

<sup>18</sup> Suet., *Claudius*, V: . . . id solum codicillis rescripsit, quadraginta aureos in Saturnalia et Sigillaria misisse ei.

<sup>19</sup> Dio, LVII, 10, 5; Suet., *Tib.*, XXXI writes: Praesidibus onerandas tributo provincias suadentibus rescripsit boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non deglubere; Dio, LVI, 16, 3 says that Bato gave the following reason to Tiberius for his revolt from Rome: "You Romans are to blame for this; for you send us as guardians of your flocks, not dogs or shepherds, but wolves."

<sup>20</sup> Suet., *Caligula*, XXXVII.

<sup>21</sup> II, 48: Ceterum ut honestam innocentium paupertatem levavit, ita prodigos et ob flagitia egentes . . . movit senatu aut sponte cedere passus est.

rank confessed to Tiberius (doubtless with the expectation that the emperor would replenish his funds) that his vast inheritance had been consumed, Tiberius dryly remarked, "You have been late in waking up."<sup>22</sup>

A similar rebuff was promptly administered at the beginning of his reign when a certain man said to Tiberius, "You remember——". Then, before the fellow could parade further indications of former familiarity, Tiberius broke in with the words, "I don't remember what I was." One is forced to add, as Seneca does after recounting this incident: "*Ab hoc quidni non esset repetendum beneficium?*"<sup>23</sup>

Flattery was, as a rule, offensive to Tiberius and provoked sarcasm, irony, or harsh rebuke. In 32 A. D. a certain senator, Tongonius Gallus, a man of no distinction, tried to gain a hearing in the senate by asking Tiberius to select senators from whose number twenty, drawn by lot and armed with swords, should defend him as often as he should enter the senate. Then Tiberius, who was accustomed to mingle jest with serious matters (*iudibria seriis permiscere solitus*), gave thanks for the kindness of the fathers; "But who could be passed over, who could be chosen? Would they always be the same or should they serve in turn? Should they be those senators who had run the *cursus honorum* or young men, men in private life, or men in office? What, then, would be the appearance of these men taking up swords on the threshold of the senate-house? His life would not be of such value to him if it had to be protected by arms. Such were his moderate jests against Tongonius; they suggested nothing beyond the quashing of the motion."<sup>24</sup> The mocking tone of the remarks is apparent, and it must have left Tongonius abashed and resentful.

Divine honors apparently were distasteful to Tiberius, and he generally seems to have treated those who proffered them with a certain reticence which was little short of cruel<sup>25</sup> and which

<sup>22</sup> Seneca, *Epistolae ad Lucilium*, 122, 10: "Sero," inquit, "expectatus es." Perhaps this remark may be assigned to 16 A. D., when the similar case of Hortalus was discussed in the senate, or to the following year when several profligate senators were expelled from the order.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.*, *De Beneficiis*, V, 25.

<sup>24</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, VI, 2.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Rostovtzeff, "L'Empereur Tibère et le Culte Impérial," *Revue Historique*, CLXIII (1930), p. 23.

must have left his subjects both puzzled and angry. So when the senate, probably in 14 or 15 A. D.,<sup>26</sup> urged Tiberius to permit his birth month, November, to be "Tiberius", he made the cutting reply, "What will you do, then, if there be thirteen Caesars?"<sup>27</sup> The proposal was dropped forthwith, but its sponsors cannot have been pleased with its reception.

Three flatterers were publicly rebuked by Tiberius with an insistence on form and an evident severity of tone: When he was called "Lord" (*dominus*) by a certain man, Tiberius forbade him to address him further "insultingly". When another man spoke of Tiberius' activities as "sacred," Tiberius compelled him to change "sacred" to "laborious;" and again when another man said that he had come before the senate on Tiberius' "authority", he was forced to change "authority" to "advice."<sup>28</sup> The sharp rebuffs administered publicly by the emperor seem unnecessarily humiliating to the flatterers, though the men certainly deserved rebuke for overstepping the limits laid down by Tiberius in such matters, limits which were in general those that Augustus had prescribed for himself<sup>29</sup> though still more confined in Tiberius' case, as I believe.

In spite of Suetonius' characterization of Tiberius' conversation in the senate as "percivilis,"<sup>30</sup> the emperor did not refrain from sarcasm, probably the most offensive form of rebuke: so when in 32 A. D. Junius Gallio moved that members of the praetorian guards who had finished their term of service should have the privilege of sitting in the fourteen rows reserved in the theatre for the *equites*, Tiberius wrote a violent rebuke "asking just as if he were present, 'what business Gallio had with the soldiers for whom it was right to receive neither commands nor rewards from anyone except the emperor; *he had certainly discovered what had escaped the foresight of the deified*

<sup>26</sup> See the discussion of the date in my "Greek and Roman Honorific Months," *Yale Classical Studies* II (1931), p. 229.

<sup>27</sup> Dio, LVII, 18, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, XXVII; Tacitus, *Ann.*, II, 87: *acerbeque increpuit eos, qui divinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dixerant*. These cases probably came between 14 and 19 A. D.; Tacitus mentions them in his treatment of 19 A. D.

<sup>29</sup> L. R. Taylor, "Tiberius' Refusals of Divine Honors," *T. A. P. A.*, LX (1922), pp. 87-101.

<sup>30</sup> *Tib.*, XIX.



*Augustus.* Or perhaps this was discord and revolt devised by a follower of Sejanus, by which he might under the pretence of honor incite the untutored mind to the overthrow of military discipline.'"<sup>31</sup>

In the same sarcastic vein is Tiberius' remark uttered under the following circumstances. He had been spending some time in Campania, and in 21 A. D. Cornelius Dolabella moved that Tiberius enter Rome in an ovation. In reply the emperor wrote of his conquests and his celebration or refusal of so many triumphs in his youth. He asked if now in his old age he should be coveting "an empty distinction for undertaking a suburban promenade (*inane praeemium peregrinationis suburbanae*)."<sup>32</sup>

An example of extreme cruelty, if we may trust our sources, is that of Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus in 34 A. D. "Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus," writes Dio, "who had never governed a province or accepted bribes, was convicted because of a tragedy he had composed, and fell a victim to a worse fate than that which he had described. *Atreus* was the name of his drama, and, in the manner of Euripides, it advised one of the subjects of that monarch to endure the folly of the reigning prince. Tiberius, upon hearing of it, declared that this had been written with reference to himself, claiming that he himself was *Atreus* because of his blood-thirstiness, and remarking, 'I will make him *Ajax*,' he compelled him to commit suicide."<sup>33</sup> The accusations of adultery with Livilla and the practice of magic doubtless acted in conjunction with the alleged veiled reference to Tiberius in the play. The emperor's comment is, however, as malevolent as the prosecution of the unfortunate Scaurus was merciless.

A similar savagery is found in the reported remarks of Tiberius to or about enemies. When an enemy, probably political, named Carnulus, was reported to have taken his own life before he could be punished, Tiberius is said to have ex-

<sup>31</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, VI, 3: The unfortunate Gallio was expelled from the senate, banished to Lesbos, and finally brought back to confinement in a magistrate's home in Rome, because it was thought that Lesbos was too attractive a place of banishment.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 47, 4.

<sup>33</sup> LVIII, 24, 3-4; Tacitus, *Ann.*, VI, 29.

claimed: "Carnulus has escaped me."<sup>34</sup> On another occasion Tiberius inspected the prisoners. When one of the condemned asked for a speedy infliction of the penalty, Tiberius replied, "I have not yet made my peace with you."<sup>35</sup>

Two instances of punning by Tiberius have been recorded, and in both there is brutality, provided, of course, that the anecdotes are authentic. A Roman knight, Pompeius by name, stubbornly kept making some denial. Tiberius threatened him with imprisonment and said that from Pompeius the man would become "Pompeianus", "cruelly punning," as Suetonius says, "at the same time on the name of the man and the former misfortune of the Pompeian party."<sup>36</sup>

At another time, it happened that a corpse was being carried through the forum on its way to burial. A buffoon ran up to the bier and pretended to whisper in the ear of the corpse; when the bystanders asked what he had said, he replied that he had told the dead man to tell Augustus that the people had not yet received the legacies left them. Tiberius had the fellow brought to him and commanded that he get what was due him (*debitum*) and be led off to execution, adding by way of jest that he should himself tell the truth to his [Tiberius'] father.<sup>37</sup>

We have seen above what an ungracious remark Tiberius had made to the senators who were desirous of calling his birth month "Tiberius". This incident, as well as others, indicates a tendency to treat envoys and magistrates in groups in the same sneering manner with which individuals were so often handled.

Augustus had once received a solemn embassy from Tarragona in Spain which had come to inform him that a palm tree had miraculously sprung up on his altar there; Augustus had overwhelmed the ambassadors by the remark: "That shows how often you burn incense to me." It was in much the same ironical way that Tiberius received the envoys from Illium, who

<sup>34</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, LXI, 5: "Carnulus me evasit."

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*: Dio, LVIII, 3, 6. This remark is given by Dio under the year 30 A. D.

<sup>36</sup> *Tib.*, LVII.

<sup>37</sup> Dio, LVII, 14, 1-2 and Suet., *Tib.*, LVII, where we see the pun intended in the double meaning of *debitum*. I am at a loss to know whether we are to accept this tale as it stands. It hardly seems that Tiberius would have had the man executed, especially in the earlier part of his reign (Dio seems to assign the episode to the year 15 A. D.).

somewhat tardily (either in 23 or 24 A. D.) came to offer their condolences on the death of his son Drusus. Tiberius replied that "he too offered his sympathy for their misfortune in losing their distinguished townsman Hector."<sup>38</sup>

The people of Rhodes evidently felt that they could treat the former exile somewhat cavalierly. At any rate in 14 A. D., shortly after the death of Augustus, the magistrates of the island sent to Tiberius a document without the proper subscription. The magistrates were at once summoned, and doubtless made the journey to Rome in fear and trembling, only to be dismissed with the laconic injunction: "Subscribe."<sup>39</sup>

Sometimes humble people met with a treatment that displayed various degrees of severity. When Tiberius was in Rhodes, he had gone to hear at an unusual time Diogenes, a *grammaticus*, who was accustomed to lecture only on Saturdays. Diogenes sent his slave boy to tell the future emperor to come back after seven days. Years later, perhaps shortly after Tiberius came to the throne, when Diogenes came to Rome and stood at the emperor's door to pay his respects, Tiberius dismissed him with a direction to return after seven years.<sup>40</sup> This was paying off Diogenes in his own coin, and with interest, but under the circumstances, the words, though most amusing, were unkind, coming from one so exalted to one so humble.

One of the most unjust pleasantries of the emperor, if the tale is true, is the treatment accorded a fisherman who unexpectedly broke in upon Tiberius' privacy at Capri and offered him a huge mullet. The ruler was terrified because the fisherman had come upon him from the rear, after clambering up the rough, pathless section of the island. He ordered his attendants to scour the countenance of the unfortunate fellow with the very fish he had brought as a present. The fisherman, as he was undergoing his punishment, congratulated himself on not having offered the emperor an exceedingly large lobster which he had also caught. Tiberius overheard the words, and,

<sup>38</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, LII, 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXII: ne verbo quidem insectatus ac tantum modo iussos subscribere remisit; Dio, LVII, 11, 2.

<sup>40</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, XXXII: nihil amplius quam ut post septimum annum rediret admonuit.

with a brutal display of ill-humor, ordered the fisherman's face to be torn with the lobster too.<sup>41</sup>

It is significant that Tiberius' remarks, so often ridiculing the shortcomings of mankind, are material for the fabulist. So Phaedrus tells how a steward, by a show of industry in watering the dusty soil at the villa at Misenum, once the property of Lucullus, tried to gain Tiberius' notice, and with it some reward. The emperor noticed the steward, summoned him, and spoke thus to the delighted slave who came up smiling and certain of reward: "You have not accomplished much and your work is spent in vain; with me freedom is much more dearly purchased."<sup>42</sup>

However true the tale may be, the story of Tiberius and the alleged inventor of malleable glass at least indicates the popular conception of Tiberius' ruthless nature. When the craftsman had demonstrated the properties of his invention and answered in the affirmative Tiberius' question as to whether he was the sole possessor of the secret, the emperor immediately had him executed, according to Petronius, "that glass might not become cheap as dirt."<sup>43</sup>

It is only rarely in the recorded remarks of Tiberius that we find a flash of wit untinged with harshness, as in the case of Tiberius' comment on Surrentine wine which was highly favored for its lightness and healthfulness: "Doctors," said the emperor, "have laid their heads together to give Surrentine a testimonial—and I must say it's excellent vinegar."<sup>44</sup> There was, moreover, authority in this witty pronouncement from the lips of such a connoisseur as "Biberius Caldus Mero."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, LX. The affair may have taken place between 27-37 A. D., the period when Tiberius was at Capri.

<sup>42</sup> *Fabulae* II, 5: "Tum sic iocata est tanti maiestas ducis: 'Non multum egisti et opera nequiquam perit; multo maioris alapae mecum veneunt.'" Tiberius had stopped at the villa on a trip to Naples; the date cannot be determined.

<sup>43</sup> *Satyricon*, 51; Pliny, *N. H.*, 36, 195; Dio, 57, 21. From Dio's account the execution of the craftsman would appear to come after 23 A. D.

<sup>44</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, XIV, 64. I have given the translation of J. Wright Duff in his *Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age* (1927), p. 380.

<sup>45</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, XLII, 1. Equally good-natured seems to be the comment he made on Curtius Rufus, a man of low origin, when he recommended him for the praetorship: "Curtius Rufus seems to me to have been his own father" (Tac., *Ann.*, XI, 21, 3).

The emperor who likened his rule over Rome to holding a wolf by the ears,<sup>46</sup> could occasionally display his shrewd judgment of his subjects with genuine good humor, as when he sent to the market to be offered for sale a mullet which had been sent to him, saying to his friends, "I'll eat my hat if that mullet isn't bought by Apicius or Publius Octavius,"<sup>47</sup> and Octavius promptly bought the fish for half a million.

Such good nature is exceptional, and Tiberius' experiences with his fellow-men and his unusually keen insight into their deceptive ways filled him with bitterness. The hollowness of the flattery with which he was treated by the senate is said to have wrung from his lips as often as he left the senate-house these words in Greek: "O men ripe for slavery."<sup>48</sup> The blackness of his misanthropy is illustrated by the frequent repetition of the phrase: "When I am dead, let earth be mingled with fire."<sup>49</sup> Born of the same despair and disillusionment is the cry of Tiberius, oft repeated, that "Priam was happy because he had survived all his people."<sup>50</sup> Then toward the end, in 37 A. D., there is a note of reproachful sadness in the words of the aged emperor, when he perceived that Macro, his praetorian prefect, was courting the favor of Caligula: "You do well, indeed," he said, "to abandon the setting and hasten to the rising sun."<sup>51</sup>

The sting of Tiberius' remarks may conceivably have been intensified by his great deliberation of speech, accompanied by a supple movement of his fingers, mannerisms which Suetonius characterizes as disagreeable and signs of arrogance.<sup>52</sup> This arrogance of the emperor whose haughty rule of conduct was "Let them hate me, provided they approve what I do"<sup>53</sup> is typical of the Claudian family.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, XXV.

<sup>47</sup> Seneca, *Epist. ad Lucilium*, 95. Tiberius was evidently at Rome when presented with the mullet.

<sup>48</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, III, 65: "O homines ad servitutem paratos!"

<sup>49</sup> Dio, LVIII, 23, 4: ἐμοῦ θανάτῳ γαῖα μίχθηται πυρὶ.

<sup>50</sup> Suet., *Tib.*, LXII, 31. Cf. Dio, LVIII, 23, 4: "Often, also, he used to declare Priam fortunate because he had involved his country and his throne in his utter ruin."

<sup>51</sup> Tacitus, *Ann.*, VI, 46.

<sup>52</sup> *Tib.*, LXVIII, 3.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, LIX, 1, 1.

An attempt has been made not to study the many-sided character of Tiberius, but rather to offer a contribution to our knowledge of one side of it. The evidence here adduced can be fairly well dated and it seems to indicate that the asperity of the emperor's language underwent no material change during his reign. The stories of the treatment accorded the inventor of malleable glass and the buffoon are probably inventions, since neither are mentioned by Tacitus, who could scarcely have failed to use them, if true, for his characterization of Tiberius. Furthermore, we know nothing of the circumstances relating to the prosecution of Carnulus or the prisoner who begged for a speedy infliction of the penalty, and knowledge of the circumstances might well extenuate or excuse Tiberius' remarks in connection with both cases. The one case of apparently unjustified brutality is that of the fisherman, but, if it is true, one can understand how the secret penetration of the ruler's retreat was in itself an offense, and moreover, how one so exposed to plots as Tiberius might be quick to suspect a trick.

It may be here remarked that much light will be thrown on the character of Tiberius by two studies already completed but not yet published.<sup>54</sup> One is concerned with "Criminal Trials and Legislation under Tiberius" and the other with "Der Prozess des Cotta Messallinus"; both will, I believe, give a fair and unprejudiced view of certain phases of Tiberius' character, while the latter shows that evidence which has been taken as an indication of alleged mental deterioration or madness in the emperor's last years has been falsely interpreted. One may, of course, readily believe that in the last years of his reign Tiberius was more disillusioned and embittered than ever, but such a state of mind is not madness.

This investigation has not attacked the problem of his attitude towards freedom of speech and constitutional government, but has tried rather to evaluate, in the light of his remarks to individuals, the judgment passed upon his "harshness, bitterness, and intolerance" by Augustus, Tacitus, and others. His very words convict him of these particular faults, but his cynicism, sarcasm, and brutal frankness should not prejudice our judg-

<sup>54</sup> The writer, Professor R. S. Rogers, has kindly permitted me to read both in manuscript.

ment of his accomplishments as a general, legislator, executive, and financier. It is only fair to point out that often the victims of Tiberius' remarks were not undeserving of rebuke; extortionate governors, spendthrift nobles, fawning or contentious senators, disrespectful, impudent subjects, and ambitious, cruel, or incompetent relatives frequently deserved what they received in the way of reproach. Still, however justified Tiberius' words sometimes were, they were often of such a nature as to antagonize those against whom they were directed, and a ruler who would make them could never be expected to win popular favor.

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SOME POLITICAL ALLUSIONS IN PLAUTUS'  
*TRINUMMUS*.

Ever since Ritschl discussed the date of the *Trinummus*—in his *Parerga*, 339 ff.—it has been known that the play was produced at the Megalensian games and that the play therefore belongs after 194 B. C. Furthermore, it has been noticed that the frequent references to Eastern affairs suggest a date after the return of the Scipios from Magnesia. In this note I wish to point out what seem to me some rather definite allusions to the events of about 187 B. C.

It will be remembered that men of the Catonian party began a systematic attack upon the aristocratic clique associated with the Scipios about 190 B. C. In that year Cato brought public action against Thermus and Acilius Glabrio; then, after the return of Manlius Vulso in 187, an attempt was made to deny him a triumph. In the same year two tribunes, the Petillii, called on Lucius Scipio to render an account in the Senate for the moneys received from Antiochus and, when Publius Scipio tore up the accounts in anger, they brought before the assembly a bill asking the praetor (who in the absence of the consuls was the highest magistrate at Rome) to request the Senate to name and empower a praetor to conduct an investigation.<sup>1</sup> This motion was passed after a bitter discussion in which Cato made a speech<sup>2</sup> against the Scipios. The Senate obeyed orders and appointed Terentius Culleo to hear the case, and we may be sure that the debate in the senate was bitter. The trial seems not to have come off that year; possibly Terentius postponed action till his year of office ran out. In the sequel of 185-4 we are not here interested.

The main contention of the Catonian party in their first assault upon the Scipios was the same as in Cato's attack upon Acilius, namely that the general had not turned over to the treasury all the booty (including in this case an instalment of the indemnity), though the laws required the quaestors to keep careful accounts. Scipio's defense seems to have been that custom, the *mos majorum*, gave the proconsul supreme power

<sup>1</sup> See Livy 38, 53 ff., Mommsen, in *Röm. Forsch.* II, 417 ff.; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, IV, 591 ff.; Frank in *Cambridge Ancient History*, VIII, 371.

<sup>2</sup> De pecunia regis Antiochi.



as regards the disposal of the booty; and he must have acted on this theory since he somehow found money to give his troops an extra stipend after their victory. Scipio's impulsive destruction of the records—no breach of law, according to his contention—led, of course, to bitter charges of arrogance. Though Livy's account of the affair is not to be trusted in its entirety, the tone of the speeches that he purports to quote is in accord with what Polybius gives and his account doubtless conveys some of the phrases used. The accusers, according to Livy, charged that Scipio was acting the part of a dictator (38, 51, 3); Cato *adlatrare magnitudinem eius solitus erat* (38, 54, 1), and Petillius, Cato's henchman, spoke of Scipio's *nobilitatem et regnum* (38, 54, 6).

Now the *Trinummus* of Plautus, which boasts of being a very chaste play, does not confine its sermonizing to the ordinary vices. Every exhortation in the play quickly turns into an attack upon the aristocrats and their insolence. In the very first speech of Megaronides, where the reader expects a puritanic onslaught fitting the occasion, we get instead a tirade against rank—which surprises us because the speaker (Megaronides) is of the same class as the criticized (ll. 34, 35):

Nimioque hic pluris *pauciorum* gratiam  
faciunt pars hominum quam id quod prosint *pluribus*.

And the same tone discovers itself in Philto's criticism (297), where the word *boni* is used in the political sense:

Nil ego istos moror faeceos mores, turbidos, quibus *boni*  
dedecorant se.

The monologue of the slave Stasimus in the unnoticed presence of Charmides (1023 ff.) seems to me quite packed with allusions to the Cato-Scipio debate. Plautus probably did not wish to appear openly taking sides between two powerful parties. He therefore pretends to motivate the speech by having Stasimus imagine that he has been robbed (1023). But at the end of the speech Plautus hints that his sermon had a political reference:

sum insipientior qui *rebus curem publicis* (1057).

When Stasimus began with the words (1028) *utinam veteres hominum mores*<sup>3</sup> the audience was probably reminded of

<sup>3</sup> In this whole passage, and especially in ll. 1032-7, Plautus uses *mores* as a true plural of *mos*.

Scipio's appeal to *mos majorum*; at any rate it doubtless caught the allusion when Charmides exclaimed (1030):

Di immortales, *basilica* hicquidem *facinora* inceptat loqui!  
for Cato had delivered a speech *de pecunia regis Antiochi*. An even more sarcastic reference to Scipio's contention seems to occur a few lines further on (1037):

*mores* leges perduxerunt iam in potestatem suam,  
and the next line—taken doubtless as a preposterous joke—might stand as a reference to Scipio's alleged betrayal of the state for the sake of recovering his son from Antiochus:

*magisque* is sunt obnoxiosae quam *parentes liberis*,  
and the final fling at "custom" that supersedes law is found in 1043-4:

leges mori serviunt,  
*mores* autem rapere properant qua sacrum qua publicum.

This—I take it—is as much as to say that the generals, in pocketing booty under the pretext of "custom" (as was alleged) cheat the public treasury and the expectation of the gods for temples. In fact the great victory at Magnesia led to no temple-building—which must have surprised Rome.

The whole speech of Stasimus in fact has nothing to do with the action of the play. Its references to Roman conditions (*ambitio* 1033; *leges fixae*, 1039) indicate a Plautine insertion. I suggest that it is to be taken as a commentary—though not too serious—on the speeches that the people had recently heard in the assembly of 187 against and in defence of the Scipios.

There are a few other phrases in the play that point to the same general period, though not so definitely.<sup>4</sup> Line 1034:

*Ambitio* jam more sanctast, liberast a legibus,  
would seem to indicate that there had been some unsuccessful agitation on the subject of repressing electioneering. Livy indicates repeatedly that the evils of *ambitus* were growing from

<sup>4</sup> In commenting on l. 84:

Nam nunc ego si te surrupuisse suspicer  
Jovi coronam,

Ritschl recalled the reference in Horace *Sat.* I, 4, 94 to a Petillius charged with stealing Jove's crown, and suggested that the Petillius who attacked Scipio might be the person alluded to by Plautus as well as by Horace. Critics have dropped the suggestion because of

about 192. However, it was not till 181 that a law was finally passed. Line 1034 doubtless refers to some of the earlier proposals for such legislation.

Line 484:

cena hac annona est sine sacris hereditas

is, of course, a reference to high prices and hard times. Now we know that from 191 to 188 all spare grain had to be sent to the armies and fleets operating in the east, so that there was no surplus. Then in 189 the rains were so heavy that the Tiber overflowed its banks twelve times (Livy 38, 28, 4). Prices must have risen very high, for the aediles took legal action that winter against several grain merchants (Livy 38, 35). The next year a serious pestilence broke out, lasting into 187 when a three-day *supplicatio* was declared for the welfare of the people (Livy 38, 44, 7). Such a pestilence would, of course, affect farm labor, and it would also create the moral temper noticeable in the party squabbles of the year, not to speak of the tone of the play in question. By the year 184 the economic stress had apparently quite passed over, since Cato with his eye, as usual, on the crops could make an address *de lustris sui felicitate*. Line 484 would then fit well into the situation in 187 B. C.

I would also suggest that line 545:

sed Campanis genus  
multo Syrorum jam antedit patientia

is not, as usually taken, a late reference to the supposed enslavement of the Campanians in 209. In fact, historians now know that the Capuans were not enslaved. It is rather a reference to the humble request for rights of *conubium* made by the Campanians in 188 (Livy 38, 36, 5). They had in point of fact been enrolled as citizens the year before (Livy 38, 28, 3) and

Porphyrion's comment on the Horatian line. But Porphyrio is a careless guide, and all through the fourth Satire Horace uses old Lucilian characters. The coins of the Petillii (Grueber, nos. 4217-25) prove distinctly that the family had of old had charge of the Capitoline temple. It is quite possible that the friends of Scipio invented some charge against Petillius by way of a *tu quoque*. It was one of the Scipios who paid for the gilded chariot group of the Capitoline in 189 (Livy 38, 35, 4). I should therefore accept Ritschl's suggestion that line 84 of the *Trinummus* is another allusion to the recriminations of these exciting days; but of course Plautus had the good sense to consider the charge a joke.

one would have supposed that such rights might have followed, but somehow they had been denied. An Umbrian like Plautus may well have felt a deep sympathy for these Capuans who had to come and beg year after year for civil treatment. The reference to their *patientia* fits well into a play produced in the spring of 187.

And finally the puritanic tone of the whole play, as has often been pointed out, fits excellently into the period when Cato was carrying on his crusades.<sup>5</sup>

To summarize, I think that the *Trinummus* was played at the Megalensian games of 187 and that it contains several allusions to the all-engrossing debates then going on between the partizans of Scipio and of Cato. The nature of these allusions is interesting. Plautus does not mention names—that was tabu after the experiences of Naevius—and he even guards himself so far as to give to Stasimus a plausible motivation in personal experience for his sermon on morals (l. 1023). He contents himself with harping on words and phrases that everybody had heard in the public debates and that had become common talk, and he skilfully weaves these into his dialogue, sometimes with a humorous twist. However, it is not difficult to see that his sympathy is with the Catonian side. His dislike for the arrogance of the haughty nobles overriding law rings quite sincere, while the allusion to the alleged theft of the crown of Jupiter—a charge brought by Cato's opponents—at once brands the deed as impossible (in columine summo). Plautus has not many explicit allusions to the party politics of his day,<sup>6</sup> and this one is so carefully guarded that later readers lost the application (cf. Cic. *de Rep.* 4, 11). But historians who know the 38th book of Livy well will hardly fail to see that Plautus in writing the *Trinummus* made something of the chance to get fun out of the very exciting contests of 187.

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<sup>5</sup> The *Captivi* is in this respect very like the *Trinummus* but goes a step farther in heavily emphasizing both in the prologue and in the epilogue its moral qualities. This play would fall very well into the year of Cato's censorship, the last year of Plautus' life.

<sup>6</sup> Evanthius, III, 6, has noticed that Plautus has more than Terence, and that they are apt to be obscure: adde quod nihil abstrusum ab eo (Terentio) ponitur aut quod ab historicis requirendum sit, quod saepius Plautus facit et eo est obscurior multis locis.

## PLATO IN AFGHANISTAN AND INDIA.

[Alberuni in his *Enquiry into India* (c. 1030 A. D.) has many quotations from Plato and other Greek writers which are sometimes of use to the textual critic. (In *Timaeus* 25 d he perhaps read *κάπτα παχέος*.) Unfortunately he used adaptations of Plato rather than translations proper. Were these adaptations (a) identical with, or (b) based on, the Arabic 'translations' of Plato of which we hear in medieval Arabic sources? Or were they based on the 6th century Persian translation of Plato mentioned by Agathias? It is suggested that a literal Latin rendering might be made of the Arabic MS Aya Sofiya 2410.]

Al-Bīrūnī, *alias* al-Bērūnī, hereinafter plain Alberuni,<sup>1</sup> was born in the suburbs of Khiva in 973 A. D. In 1017 his country was conquered by King Mahmud the Gaznevide (as Gibbon calls him) and he was carried off to the conqueror's capital, Ghazna in Afghanistan. Much or all of the time from then till 1030 was spent by him in India, where he collected the materials for his great *Enquiry into India*, completed by him shortly after Mahmud's death in 1030. It was about the same time that he settled in Ghazna, where he died in 1048.<sup>2</sup>

Himself ignorant of Greek,<sup>3</sup> Alberuni introduces many quotations from Greek authors into his book. In particular he quotes a considerable number of times from the *Phaedo*, *Timaeus* and *Laws* of Plato. These citations are for the most part so free that it is ordinarily impossible to say which of the variants in any given passage is represented in them. The following, however, are certain:—*Phaedo* 65 c 5 (I p. 71 Sachau) *πὸν τότε* (TW Iambl.) or *τότε* (B<sup>2</sup>), not *τοῦτό τε* (B); *ibid.* 81 d 8 (I p. 65 Sachau) *τροφῆς* (BT u.v. W), not *τρυνφῆς* (B<sup>2</sup>); *ibid.* 108 c 4 (I p. 66 Sachau) *θεῶν* (B<sup>2</sup> TW Stob.), not *ῥσων* (B); *ibid.* 114 a 5 (I p. 66 Sachau) *κύμα* (BTW Euseb.), not *ῥεῦμα* (Stob.). Equally certainly Alberuni supports the corrupt *θεῶν* (*ῶν*) in

<sup>1</sup> Henceforward I omit all diacritical marks in the transliteration of Oriental names.

<sup>2</sup> For the facts of Alberuni's life, see especially the preface to E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India, English Edition*, London, 1888 (reprinted 1910). Cp. Brockelmann in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* I (1913), p. 726 f., C. A. Nallino in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* VII (1930), p. 87 f., E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia* II (1906), pp. 96-98. According to V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India* (1914), p. 15, n. 1, the correct title of Alberuni's work is *An Enquiry into India*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. xli.

*Timaeus* 41 a 7 (AFY, Cicero, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Chalcidius, Stobaeus, etc.) against the palmary emendation of Badham, ὅσων.

More interesting, but unfortunately much more doubtful is the evidence which he supplies regarding *Timaeus* 25 d 3-7, which I here subjoin with a critical apparatus:—

Διὸ καὶ νῦν ἄπορον καὶ ἀδιερεύνητον γέγονεν τοῦκ' ἐλάγος, πηλοῦ  
κάρτα βραχέος \* ἐμποδὼν ὄντος, ὃν ἡ νῆσος ἰζομένη παρέσχετο.

Var. Lect. κάρτα βραχέος] κάρτα βαθέος A (sed ραβ et θ in ras.), cp. Philo, Inc. Mu., p. 514 M.: κατὰ βραχέος γρ. Ams (sed ad κάρτα schol. σφόδρα) Y: καταβραχεος F: καταβραχέος Proclus.

κάρτα βραχέος is read by Schneider, Stallbaum, C. F. Hermann, Susemihl, Burnet, Fraccaroli and Rivaud; κάρτα βαθέος by Bekker, Martin, Apelt (u.v.) and Taylor, the last of whom gives cogent reasons for preferring βαθέος to βραχέος. Chalcidius, however, in his free rendering of the *Timaeus* reproduces our sentence by *nisi quod pelagus illud pigrius quam cetera crasso dehiscentis insulae limo et superne fluctibus concreto habetur*, and Mr. E. R. Bevan has plausibly suggested<sup>4</sup> that *crasso* here represents κάρτα παχέος, which would be intrinsically at least as good as κάρτα βαθέος. Alberuni does not formally quote the sentence, but there is apparently an echo of it in the following passage (Sachau, *op. cit.* I, p. 196):—

The reader is to imagine the inhabitable world, ἡ οἰκουμένη, as lying in the northern half of the earth, and more accurately in one-half of this half—i. e. in one of the quarters of the earth. It is surrounded by a sea, which both in west and east is called 'the comprehending one'; the Greeks call its western part near their country ἑκατός. This sea separates the inhabitable world from whatever continents or inhabitable islands there may be beyond it, both towards west and east; for it is not navigable on account of the darkness of the air, and the thickness of the water, because there is no more any road to be traced, and because the risk is enormous, whilst the profit is nothing. Therefore people of olden times have fixed marks both on the sea and its shores which are intended to deter from entering it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Taylor, *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, p. xiv, and *Plato, Timaeus and Critias translated into English*, p. 23, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> With the last sentence, cp. Dante, *D. C.*, Inf. xxvi, 107 ff., *quella foce stretta, | ov' Ercole segnò li suoi riguardi, | acciochè l'uom più oltre non si metta*. Is this purpose ever assigned to the Pillars of Heracles in classical literature? Moore, *Studies in Dante* I, cites no source for these lines. Is there by any chance any grist here for Prof. Asin's mill? [See, however, Brunetto Latini, *Il Tesoretto* ch. 11 ll. 117-136, referred

That the words I have italicized in the above derive from *Tim.* 25 d 3-7, as Sachau assumes, is made the more probable by the mention immediately before of possible continents or inhabitable islands beyond the Ocean, which it is natural to connect with *Tim.* 24e-25a.<sup>6</sup> If so, the expression "the thickness of the water" affords some slight further support for *κάρτα παχέος*.<sup>7</sup>

Before we go on to inquire what was the precise nature of the source from which Alberuni derived his Platonic quotations, it may be well to point out that he was somewhat lax in his manner of using it. This will appear from a comparison of his two citations from *Tim.* 41 a 5 ff.

I, p. 35, Sachau

Plato says in his *Timaeus* [follows a sentence not found in the Greek]. Further he says: "God spoke to the gods, 'You are not of yourselves exempt from destruction. Only you will not perish by death. You have obtained from my will at the time when I created you, the firmest covenant.'"

... λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς (the created gods) ὁ τὸδε τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας τάδε — 'Θεοὶ θεῶν ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων, δι' ἐμοῦ γινόμενα πάντα ἐμοῦ γε μὴ ἐθέλοντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν δὴ δεθὲν πᾶν λυτὸν, τὸ γε μὴν καλῶς ἀρμολύθην καὶ ἔχον εὖ λύειν ἐθέλειν κακοῦ· δι' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπελπευ γεγέννησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἐστὲ οὐδ' ἄλντοι τὸ πάμπαν, οὐτι μὲν δὴ λυθήσεσθε γε οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας, τῆς ἐμῆς βουλήσεως μείζονος ἔτι δεσμοῦ καὶ κυριωτέρου λαχόντες ἐκείνων οἷς ὅτ' ἐλύγνεσθε συνεδείσθε'.

I, p. 231, Sachau

Plato says: "God spoke to the seven planets: 'You are the gods of the gods, and I am the father of the actions; I am he who made you so that no dissolution is possible; for anything bound, though capable of being loosened, is not exposed to destruction, so long as its order is good.'"

to by Moore, *op. cit.* III p. 124. Tac. *Germ.* 34 (*cit. Id. ibid.* p. 123 n. 2) has nothing to do with the Straits of Gibraltar.]

<sup>6</sup> This might, however, come from Ps.-Arist., *De Mundo*, 392b23 ff., for Alberuni has three quotations (not noted by Sachau) from that work, for his acquaintance with which he was indebted, as I will show elsewhere, to the Syriac version of Sergius Resainensis (d. 536 A.D.).

<sup>7</sup> The "darkness of the air" does not come from the *Timaeus*. The far west was, of course, traditionally wrapped in gloom (cp. e.g. Hom., *Od.* xi, 13-19), but I know of no passage in Greek literature where the Ocean is represented as innavigable on account of darkness. That notion is found in Rhet. Anon. *ap. Sen. Suas.* i, § 1, 12 f. Edw. (quoted by Moore, *Studies in Dante* III, p. 118), Moschus (a Greek rhetorician), *ibid.* § 2, 31-33, Fabianus *ibid.* § 4, 20 f., and the poet Pedo *ibid.* § 15, 9-12 and 24 f.; further, in Q. Curt. ix, 4, 18 (quoted by Edward on *Sen. Suas.* § 1, 10). Very possibly, the rhetoricians derived it from Greek scientific or semi-scientific sources, but Alberuni may simply have

This laxity, however, will hardly account for all the wide divergences between Alberuni's quotations from Plato and the original text. Sachau is doubtless right in saying (II, p. 278) that what he used was not simple translations of the text of the *Phaedo* and *Timaeus*, but rather works in which "text and commentary were mixed together, and the original form of a dialogue was changed into that of a simple narration," which, however, Alberuni erroneously held to be the original form of the books. Sachau assumes that these works were in Arabic, but does not carry the question further.

Now according to Carra de Vaux<sup>8</sup> "A translation of the *Timaeus* has been corrected by Yahya b. Adi (according to the Fihrist [composed in 987 A. D.] and Ibn al-Kifti [1172-1248 A. D.]); in another place (in the works just mentioned) there is said that the *Timaeus* was translated by Ibn al-Bitrik and Hunain b. Ishak [d. 873 A. D.]." Was this the work used by Alberuni or was it a real translation? Probably the latter, if we may judge by the extant Arabic translation of the *Poetics* and the medieval Latin versions of Arabic translations of other Aristotelian writings.<sup>9</sup> The question could probably be settled definitely without very great trouble. For Carra de Vaux tells us (*l. c.*) that "a MS of Constantinople (Aya Sofiya No 2410) bears the title of *The book of Plato called Timaeus on philosophy*." Will not some Arabic scholar give us a literal Latin rendering of a few pages of this MS? In spite of the labours of Schanz, Král, Burnet and others, the textual criticism of Plato has not yet become an idle pastime, and, copious as the indirect tradition already is, an Arabic version of the *Timaeus* made in the ninth or tenth century might prove of some value for the establishment of the original text, of which the three authoritative MSS (AFY)<sup>10</sup> belong respectively to s. ix, s. xiv and s. xiv/xv.

taken it from the Arabs, who, however they came to have it, "had a strange horror of the Atlantic, 'the green sea of darkness'" (Moore, *l. c.*).

<sup>8</sup> *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* I; p. 173, s. v. *Aflatun*. Cf. Steinschneider, *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen in Beihefte zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Bd. IV, p. 148 (= Heft 12, p. 20).

<sup>9</sup> See the specimens of the latter given in Jourdain, *Recherches sur les anciennes traductions latines d'Aristote* (1843), pp. 404 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> W in the *Clitophon*, *Republic* and *Timaeus* is quite different from



The only evidence for the existence of an Arabic version of the *Phaedo*, apart from Alberuni's citations, appears to consist of a single quotation from it by Masudi (d. 956/7 A. D.).<sup>11</sup>

There is perhaps one other possibility, which it seems worth putting forward, even if only for disproof by an Orientalist. Though he wrote all his chief works, including that on India, in Arabic, Alberuni was almost certainly Persian by race, and he wrote one or two minor treatises in that language.<sup>12</sup> Now Agathias (ii, p. 66, ed. Paris) tells us that King Chosroes I (regn. 531-579 A. D.) had Persian (Pahlavi)<sup>13</sup> translations of Plato and Aristotle made for him "by someone."<sup>14</sup> Was Alberuni's acquaintance with Plato mediated through this source? The same question may be raised regarding the Persian poet Nizami (1141-1203 A. D.) and the channel through which he obtained his knowledge of the story of Gyges' Ring in Plato, *Republic* II.<sup>15</sup> Was that channel the anonymous Persian translation of Plato or was it the Arabic translation of the *Republic* by Hunain b. Ishak, as Cowell (*l. c.*, p. 156) suggested?

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W in the other dialogues, a fact of which Rivaud, who collated it for his edition of the *Timaeus*, appears to have been unaware. See Alline, *Histoire du texte de Platon*, p. 237.

<sup>11</sup> Cp. Carra de Vaux, *l. c.* There were also translations of the *Republic*, *Sophist*, *Luvs*, and (perhaps) *Apology*.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. Nallino in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* VII, p. 88; Houdas in *La grande Encyclopédie* VI (1888), p. 924; also, Sachau, *op. cit.* I, p. 19, II, p. 260.

<sup>13</sup> Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, n. 106, oddly supposes that the translation was into Syriac. Agathias, however, says ἐς τὴν Περσίδα φωνήν. I imagine these versions are wholly lost, but I have not been able to see West's catalogue of extant Pahlavi literature in *Sitzb. Bay. Akad. phil.-hist. Kl.* 1888.

<sup>14</sup> Alline, *Histoire du texte de Platon*, p. 200, ascribes the Persian translation of Plato to Uranius, presumably the Uranius of whom Agathias goes on to speak at length after mentioning the translations. Agathias does not say anything to suggest that Uranius was their author, and his silence strongly suggests that he did not regard him as such.

<sup>15</sup> See E. B. Cowell in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xxx (1861), pp. 151-157 (cp. J. Adam, *The Republic of Plato*, Vol. I, p. 127).

## HIPPONIENSIS.

[Renewed discussion of the form.—Ed.]

Mr. Holmes V. M. Dennis<sup>1</sup> has recently claimed that the form *Hipponensis* has a right to recognition along with *Hipponiensis*, though he admits that the latter is preferable. When he produces an example of the shorter form prior to the death of Augustine (A. D. 430), it will then and then only obtain *droit de cité*. In a matter of this sort, inscriptions are most authoritative: the manuscripts must be estimated according to their date and character. If some manuscripts did not give *Hipponensis*, no editor would have printed it, and it is only in these latter days that matters of spelling are beginning to get their due attention.

Of the inscriptions given by Dessau in his *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (vol. III [Berolini, 1916], pp. 622 f.), three abbreviate the adj. as 'Hipp.', two give 'Hipponiensis'; in the third case where *-onenses* is given on the stone, it has been expanded, perhaps wrongly, to *Hipponenses*. As to the *Corpus* itself the evidence is as stated by Mr. Dennis. In all five inscriptions where the adjective is engraved in full, it is *Hipponiensis*. If he had cast his net a little wider, and, consulted S. Gsell, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie*, tom. I (Paris, 1922), he would have found in his inscription no. 3992 two more examples of the adjective with the *i*. Thus seven inscriptional examples of *Hipponiensis* occur. There are in addition four where the adjective is abbreviated to *HIPP*. There is as yet no geographical index to *CIL* VI, VIII (suppl.), XI, XIII, from which to get more examples.

De Vit stated the case not so badly in his *Onomasticon* years ago, when he said that the longer form was found in inscriptions, the longer and the shorter in MSS. My position is that the shorter form is degenerate, and I will continue to believe so until it is furnished by an inscription of good date.

The writer appears to be but little acquainted with the progress of the textual criticism of the Elder Pliny. He tells us that 'Sillig's text', which he calls 'the traditional text', whatever that may mean, reads *Hipponensem*. But Sillig's text

<sup>1</sup> Vol. LII (1931), 274-277.

(1853-8) was superseded by Detlefsen's (1866-1873), and Detlefsen's in its turn was superseded by Jan's and Mayhoff's. The standard text at present is Mayhoff's (vol. I dated 1906). Mayhoff as a matter of fact prints *Hipponiensem*,<sup>2</sup> that is, he deliberately prefers the longer form, though he has MS authority for the other also. There is more Augustinian evidence for the longer form than was available to Christopher or myself. Mr. Dennis has himself added five Augustinian examples to those Christopher and I gave. It falls to me to add that the British Museum MS (Add. 14784, saec. XII) of Augustine's works gives *ipponiensis*, which points to *Hipponiensis* in an ancestor of this MS, and is, in my opinion, a testimony to the good character of its tradition. Dom Germain Morin, who is probably the greatest living authority on St. Augustine, prints *Hipponiensis* (for example, *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, vol. I [Rome 1930], pp. 593, 804); so does Dom André Wilmart, in the second volume of the same work (for example, p. 149, *bis*). These eminent scholars would appear to be in no doubt what the correct form is. But there is evidence outside Augustine himself. In the ancient Latin MSS of the Canons of Councils, whose evidence is published with extreme accuracy by C. H. Turner in his *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima*, vol. I, pp. 302, 579, 586, cf. 595, the longer form has an almost absolute predominance. Many, perhaps most, very old MSS of Augustine make no reference to his diocese at all; otherwise we should have had more evidence even than we have, bearing on the point.

Mr. Dennis quite rightly refers to the evidence of Possidius. Possidius' text, as published by Weiskotten (Princeton, 1919), gives the shorter form always, and makes no mention of any variant in the critical notes. But I think it possible that Dr. Weiskotten may have omitted a mere orthographical matter like this from his apparatus, unless Mr. Dennis has received a personal assurance from him that the longer form occurs in none of his MSS. An *ex silentio* argument is dangerous.

The whole question of parallel forms would require examination by a philologist. The treatment in Stolz-Schmalz<sup>3</sup>, p. 236, is very brief. The parallels cited by me as long ago as 1900<sup>3</sup> were meant merely to indicate that it was possible for forms

<sup>2</sup> As Mr. Dennis mentions.

<sup>3</sup> *Classical Review*, vol. XIV, 264.

ending in -iensis to follow a stem ending in n. C(K)arthaginiensis certainly existed as well as Carthaginiensis, but the shorter form is probably degenerate there also. Marx failed to print pisciniensis in Lucilius, though the MS gives it, but pisciniensis appears in a Baiae inscription found in 1896.<sup>4</sup> An inscription printed in the *Notizie degli Scavi*<sup>5</sup> in 1929 gives Bouianiensis.

What is the explanation of the shorter form? Phonetic perhaps. The i became pronounced as y, and then in consequence disappeared from pronunciation altogether, and thus from writing.<sup>6</sup> The second stage had happened as early as Lucilius' time in the case of pisciniensis, but Marx did not know this, and therefore printed the shorter form, against his manuscript, to satisfy the meter. But Virgil had to say *abyete*, etc., to get the words into his line.

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<sup>4</sup> See my note in *Arch. f. lat. Lex.* XI (1898), pp. 130 f.

<sup>5</sup> Ser. VI, vol. V, p. 214.

<sup>6</sup> I do not believe that analogy would operate here in the opposite direction.

## ON CATULLUS XXIX, 8.

ut albulus columbus aut Adoneus?

This line, although not one of the cruces of the text of Catullus, has caused considerable difficulty. None of the MSS gives the above reading which has now been generally accepted. GOa<sup>1</sup> have *ydoneus*, R Ven. et plerique *idoneus*. The present reading we owe to the edition of Statius,<sup>2</sup> from which time it has received recognition, if not acceptance, in all critical editions. The nineteenth century editors, however, did not adopt it with any unanimity. K. J. Sillig in his edition<sup>3</sup> suggested *haut idoneus*, which was followed imprimis by Schwabe,<sup>4</sup> Schmidt,<sup>5</sup> and Munro.<sup>6</sup> More recent editors, including Ellis,<sup>7</sup> Baehrens-Schulze,<sup>8</sup> Merrill,<sup>9</sup> and Kroll<sup>10</sup> have reverted to the reading *aut Adoneus*.

Two difficulties stand in the way of scholars who wish to accept Statius' suggestion. The first and less important is the form *Adoneus*. The *Thesaurus*<sup>11</sup> lists only two examples<sup>12</sup> of the form ending in *-eus* as opposed to scores of examples of the more normal forms *Adonis* and *Adon*. However, since these two examples occur in comedy and "nugae" respectively, their authority is deemed ample.<sup>13</sup>

The second and more formidable difficulty is that of interpretation. This question has been debated at least since the time of Doering,<sup>14</sup> who, after accepting *aut Adoneus* and giving

<sup>1</sup> Ellis, Oxford, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> A. Statius, Venice, 1566.

<sup>3</sup> Göttingen, 1823.

<sup>4</sup> Giessen, 1866; Berlin, 1886.

<sup>5</sup> Leipzig, 1887.

<sup>6</sup> "Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus," Cambridge, 1878.

<sup>7</sup> Oxford, 1904.

<sup>8</sup> Leipzig, 1893.

<sup>9</sup> Boston, 1893; Leipzig, 1923.

<sup>10</sup> Leipzig, 1929.

<sup>11</sup> *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Vol. I, c. 803-05, Leipzig, 1900.

<sup>12</sup> Plaut. Men. 144; Ausonius Epigr. 30.6.

<sup>13</sup> Baehrens, *Comm. Leipzig*, 1885, p. 182, called *-eus* form "vulgaris."

Cf. Thes. l. c.

<sup>14</sup> Leipzig, 1788.

his reasons, says, "Non video igitur cur in hoc loco tam interpretando quam corrigendo adeo se torserint interpretes."<sup>15</sup>

It has, of course, been generally recognized<sup>16</sup> that doves are sacred to Venus, and that Adoneus refers to the youth beloved by her. Likewise most commentators<sup>17</sup> have pointed out that Mamurra's successes depended on the patronage of Caesar. One further step, the identification of, or relation between, Venus and Caesar, will, I believe, give the correct interpretation.

We know that Caesar at the beginning of his curule career stressed his descent from Venus.<sup>18</sup> The watchword at Pharsalus was Venus Victrix,<sup>19</sup> which caused Pompey worry lest his troops be affected by the "reputation and distinction" of his rival.<sup>20</sup> The earliest coins issued by Caesar bore the figure or head of Venus.<sup>21</sup> Throughout his life, then, Caesar constantly reminded the people of this intimate connection between himself and the goddess, a connection sanctioned after his death by his deification and by the policy of Augustus.<sup>22</sup>

If therefore we keep in mind this at least partial identification of Caesar and Venus, Cat. XXIX, 8 will have exquisite point. Mamurra *perambulabit omnium cubilia* as one of the attendants in the train of Caesar (ut albulus columbus), or as the special favorite (aut Adoneus) of this divinely sprung commander. That in this case Mamurra resembles Adonis in no respect except in the favor of Venus, or rather of Venus's son, heightens rather than lessens the sting and irony of the line.

Further, this is just the kind of thing a witty and clever political opponent would choose to mock. The incongruity is admirably adapted for purposes of propaganda. To call the unprepossessing<sup>23</sup> Mamurra Adonis simply because he indulges

<sup>15</sup> Op. cit. p. 90.

<sup>16</sup> E. g. Ellis, Comm. Oxford, 1889. L. de Gubernatis, Turin, 1928.

<sup>17</sup> E. g. Baehrens, Kroll op. cit.

<sup>18</sup> Suet. D. Jul. 6.

<sup>19</sup> Appian, Bell. Civ. II, ch. 76 ad fin. cf. ib. ch. 68, τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόγονον Ἀφροδίτην.

<sup>20</sup> Plut. Pomp. 68: δεδοκότα (sc. Πομπήϊον) μὴ τῷ γένει τῷ Καίσαρος εἰς Ἀφροδίτην ἀνήκοντι δόξα καὶ λαμπρότης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται.

<sup>21</sup> B. M. Cat. of Coins, Rep. Vol. III, plate CX, no. 20; cf. Vol. I, p. 542n.; Vol. II, p. 469, nos. 31-35.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Verg. Aen. VI, 789 ff.

<sup>23</sup> "Hunc praefectum fabrum, Fortunae filium,—fuisse staturae magnae (115.7), macellum (57.6), ore foedum." Baehrens, Comm. p. 183.

in amorous adventures is at best but mildly amusing: in all essential respects the simile lacks the verisimilitude necessary for uproarious and lasting ridicule. To compare with Adonis this veteran whose popularity depended on such favor from Venus's descendant as Venus herself showed to Adonis is to make the comparison much more apt, and therefore much more ridiculous. It is even possible that these slights of Caesar's ancestry may be the "perpetua stigmata"<sup>24</sup> of Suetonius.

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<sup>24</sup> Suet. D. Jul. 73.

## THE GRAMMAR OF DRINKING HEALTHS.

In recent discussion <sup>1</sup> of the drinking of healths at Macedonian and Greek banquets I feel that a clear distinction has not yet been made between the case used for the person challenged to drink and that for the person whose health is drunk. Tarn <sup>2</sup> has explained the procedure for the actual drinking by the Greeks in the Hellenistic time when the custom of saying the name in the genitive as the wine was poured into the cup had established itself. The Homeric usage <sup>3</sup> was to say the name of the person honored in the vocative directly, with the addition of *χαῖρε*, as *χαῖρ Ἀχιλεῦ*.<sup>4</sup>

Miss Taylor <sup>5</sup> writes of the cases used, "We cannot draw a sharp line between drinking Alexander and drinking Alexander's health. The variation in the conception is shown by the fact that even for gods *πίνειν* is used with the dative, as well as with the genitive; for persons *προπίνειν* with the dative is used more frequently than *πίνειν* with the genitive." There is a slight inaccuracy here in quoting Tarn, which may be of some moment in the inference to be drawn. Tarn speaks of drinking "The King", with capitals and quotation marks. This does not seem to be equivalent to "drinking the king"; I should rather understand it as a short form for the ordinary expression "drink to the King". In Kipling's poem "The Native-Born" there is a succession of such *προπόσεις*.

We've drunk to the Queen—God bless her—  
We've drunk to our mothers' land;  
We've drunk to our English brother  
(But he does not understand.)

I charge you fill your glasses—  
I charge you drink with me  
To the men of the Four New Nations  
And the Islands of the Sea.

And so on through the entire poem. At the actual drinking of

<sup>1</sup> Tarn, W. W., JHS XLVIII, 1928, pp. 211 f. Taylor, L. R., The Divinity of the Roman Emperor, pp. 261-265.

<sup>2</sup> L. c.

<sup>3</sup> Kircher, Sakrale Bedeutung des Weines, pp. 61, 66, 96.

<sup>4</sup> Il. IX, 223 f.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, op. cit. p. 263.



these healths each one would be named separately,—“The Queen”, etc. Those who are challenged to drink in this poem would in Greek be in the dative case after *προπίνω* and those toasted would be in the genitive. This illustrates the point that appears to me to have been overlooked in Miss Taylor’s statement, and to support it I adduce the drinking scene in the Symposium of Lucian.<sup>6</sup> There Alcidas, having drunk from his scyphus, *ἐπεπώκει γάρ*, challenges the bride, Cleantis, to drink in honor of Heracles Archegetes. When ridiculed for his challenge he says “You laughed when I challenged this girl to drink in the name of (*ἐπί*) our god Heracles”. He urges her to take the scyphus from him. The passage reads: *προπίνω σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κλεανθί, Ἡρακλέους ἀρχηγέτου. ὡς δ’ ἐγέλασαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἅπαντες, ἐγέλασάτε, εἶπεν, ὦ καθάρματα, εἰ τῇ νύμφῃ προὔπιον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου θεοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους;*

This passage, which I think no one has quoted in this discussion, because of its fullness shows quite clearly the difference between the dative for the person challenged and the genitive of the person toasted. A similar example of the full construction is to be found in Athenaeus 693 e—*προπιὼν αὐτῷ ἄκρατον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*—“having pledged him (i. e. Aesculapius) in unmixed wine in the name of the Good Daemon.” These two passages would seem to be a sufficient refutation of the idea that the genitive of the name of the god or man toasted was possibly “felt as a partitive genitive”, as Miss Taylor argues. The genitive *ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος* is evidently the genitive for the toast and *ἄκρατον* is object of the verbal part of *προπίνω* while *αὐτῷ* is the dative always associated with that verb for the person challenged to drink.<sup>7</sup> Another word commonly used when healths are drunk is the verb *ἐπιχέω* with its derivative *ἐπιχυσίς*. For the genitive with the latter I cite from Plutarch, Brutus 24: *ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸ πίνειν ἐπιχύσεις ἐποιοῦντο νίκης Βρούτου καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας*. “When they came to the drinking they poured in wine (i. e. filled their cups) (in the name) of victory for Brutus and freedom for the Romans”. Here and in Plutarch, *Demetrius* 25, where a similar expression is used for pledging Demetrius as King, Seleucus as Elephant-leader, Ptolemy as Ship-captain,

<sup>6</sup> Lucian, Sympos. 430, ch. XVI.

<sup>7</sup> See for this genitive Ganschietz, s. v. Agathodaimon, P. W. Supplementband 3, Sp. 44. Also Kühner-Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik (1898), Zweiter Teil, I. Bd., S. 376, Anm. 5.

Lysimachus as Guardian of the Treasury, and Agathocles as Sikeliot nesiarch, the genitives are not the material of the drinking (partitive) but the occasion of it, to be compared with ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου θεοῦ of Lucian.

The word προπίνω is not exactly the equivalent of the English expression "drink to", nor of the German "zutrinken". It means to drink the cup of wine before the one who is honored by the challenge of the first drinker, and often the cup itself is presented to the one who has taken it to drink from. The most famous example of this is the simile at the beginning of Pindar's Seventh Olympian Ode, where the father of the bride gives to his son-in-law the gold cup with which he has challenged him to drink:

φιάλαν ὡς εἴ τις ἀφνειᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἑλὼν  
ἔνδον ἀμπέλου καχλάζουσιν δρόσῳ  
δωρήσεται  
νεανίᾳ γαμβρῷ προπίνων  
οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε πάγχρυσον κορυφὰν κτεάων

Another example of this procedure is that of the gold cup which Alexander promises to Ariston, the Paeonian prince:<sup>8</sup> "I shall drink before you and present you the cup full of unmixed wine". The word προπίομαι in the passage has the double meaning of drink before and present. From this practice comes the meaning of the verb in Aeschylus, *frag.* 131, Euripides, *Rhesus*, 405, Demosthenes 18, 296, etc., of treacherously surrendering.

The address of which Athenaeus<sup>9</sup> speaks (προέπινον μετὰ προσαγορεύσεως) is found in the passage which I have cited from Lucian. Kircher<sup>10</sup> refers to the scholium on Pindar, *Nem.* III, 132, and suggests that some salutation later also accompanied the *propositis*.

In general προπίνω is used either as in the passage from Arrian,<sup>11</sup> so often quoted, to start the drinking "in a circle", or else for an honour for a single individual, when it is often accompanied by a gift either of the cup offered or of some other object of value. In the banquet of Seuthes<sup>12</sup> a white horse, a slave-boy, robes for Seuthes' wife, a silver phiale, and a valuable rug were among the things given with the formula προπίνω σοι ᾧ

<sup>8</sup> Plut. Alex. 39.

<sup>9</sup> Athen. 498 d.

<sup>10</sup> Op. cit. p. 96.

<sup>11</sup> Anab. IV, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Xen. Anab. VII, 3.

Σεύθη καὶ δωροῦμαι. The wine was in this case drunk from a horn. This πρόποις with a gift (ἀποδωρεῖσθαι) and the mention of the person's name is said by Critias<sup>13</sup> to have been an importation from Asia. He says that the Spartans have no such custom, but drink from their own cups, while the habit of drinking from big cylixes ἐπιδέξια is characteristic of Thasos and Chios, while the Thessalians challenge individuals with their great drinking cups.

I do not attempt in this note to discuss the primitive and religious conceptions which are involved in the drinking of healths. They are investigated by Kircher in his well-known book on *Sakrale Bedeutung des Weines*. I desire to make clear that the πρόποις, challenge to drink by drinking before another and handing the cup to him (whether or not for a permanent possession), while constituting an honour to the person addressed, does not necessarily involve drinking his health, and that the toast is in the Hellenistic and Roman periods given in the genitive case. As the preposition ἐπὶ in the passage in Lucian and the dative, accusative and genitive in that passage and in Athen. 693e show, the genitive is not partitive, but gives the occasion and cause<sup>14</sup> of the drinking and is well though not literally rendered by our preposition "to" (the person toasted). The Macedonians evidently had both the custom of drinking ἐπιδέξια and of challenging with "great cups". Cf. Critias, loc. cit. ὁ μὲν Χῖος καὶ Θάσιος ἐκ μεγάλων κυλίκων ἐπιδέξια, ὁ δὲ Θετταλικὸς ἐκπώματα προπίνει ὅτῳ ἂν βούλωνται μέγала. The soldiers in Alexander's army, when they challenged one another to drink (Plut. Alex. 67) drank not to one another, but to any toast that each one desired. So in Theocritus XIV, as the drinking goes on, each reveller may pour in for a toast for whomever he will. That toast according to the custom of the time would be in the genitive, the wine drunk, or poured in, with προπίνω and ἐπιχέω is in the accusative, or, as in Theocritus II, 152, in the partitive genitive.

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<sup>13</sup> FHG II, 68; Athen. 463.

<sup>14</sup> In Pindar, Is. III, 81, the use of ἔμπυρα, burnt sacrifice, with the dependent genitive "in honor of the dead", is exactly parallel in construction. No one would dream of calling the genitive here partitive.

## REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, III, Troisième Série (1929).

Pp. 5-12. Jérôme Carcopino. Correction au *Brutus* XXVIII, 109. M. Carcopino restores in this passage *facem* for *facile* of the mss. or the *facete* of the accepted texts. This correction renders the usual change in word order needless, is in harmony with history and paleography and gives sense to a passage quite inept as usually restored.

Pp. 13-29. L. Lemarchand. Dion de Pruse, Observations critiques sur le texte des discours LXVI et XII. In treating these two discourses of Dion, the *Περὶ δόξης α'* and *Ὀλυμπικός*, M. Lemarchand rejects certain interpolations that break or mar the logical continuity and transposes certain portions to their appropriate and logical position. His treatment is logical and illuminating.

Pp. 30-42. A. Ernout. A propos d'une histoire de la langue latine. A sympathetic and brilliant résumé of M. Meillet's book. M. Ernout's article is a model of its kind and merits his own appraisal of his associate's work: "Après l'avoir lu, l'esprit se sent plus riche, non pas seulement d'une somme des faits, mais de toute la substance d'un profond esprit."

Pp. 43-63. P. Willeumier. Les manuscrits principaux du Cato Major. The author first gives a detailed description of five mss. of the ninth and tenth centuries. Then he treats of another ms., D, and of corrections founded on its variants, abbreviations and omissions, and finally of the ms.-tradition of the Cato Major.

Pp. 64-75. Gustave Glotz. Notes et discussions. The books reviewed are, *The Minoan-Mycenean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, by Martin P. Nilsson, and *Alt-Ithaka*, by Wilhelm Doerpfeld.

Pp. 75-95. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. 96. Derniers ouvrages reçus.

Pp. 97-121. Georges Seure. Inscriptions ignorées du littoral balkanique de l'Euxin. A discussion of certain Greek inscriptions already published and of almost unique value in reference to this region. The treatment comes under five heads: 1) Indigenous proper names, 2) Epitaphs, 3) Dedications, 4) Names and titles of the Dieu Cavalier, 5) Funeral verses.

Pp. 122-158. Louis Robert. Études d'épigraphie grecque. A continuation of the article by M. Robert in the *Revue* for the previous year. The subjects discussed are: VII. Inscription

d'Adalia. VIII. Noms méconnus. IX. Inscription agonistique de Pergé. X. Pierres errantes. XI. Inscriptions de Thyatire. XII. Une inscription copiée par Cockerell. XIII. ΕΙΣΑΓΟΓΕΥΣ. XIV. Inscription d'Iasos. XV. Inscriptions de Stratonicee. XVI. Inscription agonistique d'Erythrai. XVII. Inscription de Kallatis. XVIII. Inscription de Varna. XIX. Inscriptions agonistiques de Philippopolis. XX. Décrets de Cyrène.

Pp. 159-183. Georges Mathieu. Notes sur Athènes à la veille de la guerre lamiaque. These notes embrace three discussions: I. The Athenian general Leosthenes and certain of his associates. With a view to establishing greater clarity and precision in our knowledge of the events of the Lamian War, especially of its earlier period, the author supplements the information from such sources as Diodorus, Plutarch, Pausanias, and the Funeral Oration of Hyperides over those who fell in the siege of Lamia, with a study of the Hibehe Papyri and the ephobic inscription from Oropus which contains the names of magistrates crowned by the Ephebi of the tribe Leontis. This inscription is further utilized II. to obtain interesting information of Athenian families, and III. to extend our knowledge concerning the population of the tribe Leontis during the fourth century B. C.

Pp. 184-189. N. Deratani. Le réalisme dans les *declamationes*. The author shows that the themes, originally Greek, at times take on Roman coloring and reflect Roman life. The method is to study historically the character of the theme, be it Greek, Roman or mixed, and then to determine the degree of realism that comes from and reflects Roman life.

Pp. 190-194. Paul Couissin. Notes et discussions. A review of Emanuel Löwy's book, *Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens*, which with certain reservations the reviewer commends.

Pp. 195-242. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. 243-244. Derniers ouvrages reçus.

Pp. 245-270. Jean Noiville. Les Indes de Bacchus et d'Héracles. A fascinating paper which shows that the 'war' of Bacchus against the 'Indians' hides under a veil of myth an historic reality. The 'India' in question was not on the banks of the Indus but in the remote region of the plain of Kuban and the lower Don, and the shores of the sea of Azof where the Sindes lived in historic times, the debris of the great conquered nation, beyond the mysterious walls of the Caucasus, which Alexander feigned to have crossed, in order to conquer another India far surpassing in riches and extent the 'India' of Bacchus and Hercules.

Pp. 271-280. Félix Gaffiot. La Première Satire de Perse.

M. Gaffiot believes that the proverbial obscurity of Persius has increased under the mass and subtlety of the commentaries and that this must yield to a direct and attentive study of the text itself. Applying this method to the first satire he gives a translation that reproduces clearly the thoughts and their development and he follows this up with a commentary on the more obscure passages.

Pp. 281-285. E. Cavaignac. Miltiade et Thucydide. The author believes that the story in Herodotus of Miltiades' attempt to carry out the Scythian project of destroying the Persian army by breaking down the Danube-bridge was true and not an invention of Miltiades, for whom it had very serious results. In support he gives a genealogy that makes the parents of Thucydides—Oloros and Hegesipyle—first cousins, the one being the namesake of the wife of Miltiades (her grandmother), and the other the namesake of his own great-grandfather, the father-in-law of Miltiades. Assuming the first Oloros as king not in the Chersonese, but in the region of Pangaeus and bequeathing the mines there to his grandson, Cimon, we have light on the latter's interest in the Athenian expedition in this region and the later ownership of these mines by the historian, as well as on the political career of Miltiades.

Pp. 286-287. Fernand Robert. Notes sur Aristophane; *Guêpes*, vers 122-123. The author cites an inscription from Epidauros and a passage from Pausanias, which in agreement with the note of the scholiast make certain the existence at Aegina of the sanctuary of Asclepius mentioned in the text of Aristophanes.

Pp. 288-293. A. Maréchal. A propos de la Préface des *Nuits Attiques*. An inquiry as to the statement of Gellius: *Usi sumus ordine rerum fortuito, quem antea in excerpendo feceramus*. M. Maréchal concludes we have no convincing reason to doubt the statement of Gellius, or to believe that he designedly jumbled up an assumed order in his work, in order to make it more attractive.

Pp. 294-300. P. Chantraine. Notes et discussions sur un trait du style homérique. A review and exposition of "L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère" and "Les formules et la métrique d'Homère," by Milman Parry, whose thesis is that the diction, so far as it consists of literary formulas, is due solely to the influence of the verse and that the stock epithet never arises from the action of the moment and that the generic epithet does not express the characteristic that distinguishes one hero from another. The true originality of the poet lies in the portrayal of character, the dramatic structure and movement of the episodes. Hence the vast difference between the objective style of the ancient epic and the subjective style of modern literature.

Pp. 301-342. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. 343-344. Derniers ouvrages regus.

Pp. 345-347. J. E. Harry. Reine et Ville [Euripide, *Hécube*, 1215]. Read: *καπνώδες ἦμεν ἄστν πολέμων ὕπο*, which is "plus dramatique que le fade et banal *καπνῶ δ' ἐσήμεν' ἄστν* of the mss.

Pp. 348-353. Félix Gaffiot. Texte du Pro Archia. M. Gaffiot contends that the editors of this oration have wrongly departed from the Gemblacensis, the best ms. of the Pro Archia, and proves his point by the many passages he cites.

Pp. 354-357. J.-R. Vieillefond. La lettre II, 1 d'Alciphron et la Chasse de Xénophon. An exposition of the method of Alciphron, who takes the general statement of Xenophon (*De Venatione ζ'*), and expands it into a concrete story with precise details.

Pp. 358-363. P. d'Hérouville. Zootechnie virgilienne: Le choix d'un bélier. An interesting discussion of Georgics III, 384-390, which shows that in the technique of sheep-raising for wool, Vergil is justified not only by ancient but modern authorities.

P. 364. L. Laurand. Pseudocicero adversus Valerium. M. Laurand makes the point that in imitating Cicero the author of this oration uses expressions that Cicero had discarded prior to the earliest possible date of the oration; further that the *clausulae* lack the perfection Cicero had attained; and finally that certain expressions, — e. g. in ore *gladii* — are utterly un-Ciceronian.

Pp. 365-395. A. Diès. Notes et discussions. Two Clarendon Press publications are discussed: A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, and Dorothy Tarrant, *The Hippias Major*, attributed to Plato, with introductory Essay and Commentary. M. Diès first seeks to show that the fundamental intention of Mr. Taylor's Commentary is to verify the hypothesis that the *Timaeus* does not give the opinions or discoveries of Plato, but those of noted Pythagoreans at the time of Socrates. Next he discusses a number of significant passages in the *Timaeus* in a manner invariably illuminating. The discussion of the *Hippias Major* turns largely on the arguments against authenticity and the conclusion is: "si ma confiance dans l'authenticité a jamais eu besoin d'être fortifiée, elle l'est, cette fois encore, par les objections mêmes qu'on y apporte.

Pp. 396-441. Bulletin bibliographique. Pp. 442-445. Derniers ouvrages regus. Pp. 446-451. Table des matières.

CAROL WIGHT.

GLOTTA, XX (1931), 1-2.

Pp. 1-45. Emil Vetter, *Literaturbericht für die Jahre 1924-1929: Italische Sprachen.*

Pp. 46-53. Franz Brender, *Zu lat. fessus und gressus*, argues that fessus, from fatiscor, owed its e to a differentiation from fassus (fateor) and also to the influence of the semantically associated pressus; that gressus, from gradior, owed its e to the influence of cessus, notably in recessus, as well as to regressus, despite the counter-influence of passus 'Schritt'.

Pp. 54-62. G. N. Hatzidakis, *Alt- und Neugriechisches*, sees in dative *χεράι* (much used because hands are the most used of all tools) the start for the late popular *τὴν χέρα* with ε as against ε in the Attic etc., and in *τὴν χέρα* the basis for mediaeval *τὸ χέρι*, with recessive accent; and argues that the development of acc. *μας οας* etc. as possessive gen. (first occurrence of *οας* in this use, Porphyrogenetos, tenth century), came from the influence of the acc. *ἐμένα ἐσένα* etc. as emphatic forms for all cases.

Pp. 62-64. C. J. M. J. van Beek, *Romuli*, defends this reading in Tertull. *de corona* 12 (though it is not in any codex, and is merely an emendation of Beatus Rhenanus in his edition of 1521) as an elliptic dual, 'Romulus and Remus'.

Pp. 65-67. Paul Kretschmer, *Χθών*, explains Hittite *degan* and Tocharian *tkan* as from \**dhēghóm-*, which gave also \**dhghom*; the latter, with metathesis of the initial consonants, is seen in Gk. *χθών* and Skt. *kṣam-*, and with loss of the initial dental, in Latin *humus* and the Balto-Slavonic cognates.

Pp. 67-73. Emil Vetter, *Messapische und venetische Wortdeutungen*: (1) Mess. *ana* is an epithet of Aphrodite, probably 'mother'; (2) Mess. *lahona* is another epithet of Aphrodite, 'Geburtshelferin', cf. Gk. *Λαχώ* and words surviving in Albanian and in modern Gk. dialects of South Italy; (3) Venetic *lahvnah*, in two dedicatory inscriptions, is a borrowing from the Illyrian, the same as Mess. *lahona*; (4) Ven. *vrotah* means 'Wenderin', to the root *vert-*, cf. Hesych. *βραράναν· τροπύνην*, *Ἡλείου* and Gk. *παράνη* 'Quirl'; Ven. *rehtia*, shown by Whatmough to be a goddess of healing invoked by women, like Gk. (Spart., Arg., Epid.) *Orthia*, is more precisely a goddess of childbirth; (6) Ven. *h* represented *h* from earlier *k*, before *t*, as is shown by writings of the words already discussed; | flanked by two shorter hastas or by two dots is only a later form of the same character.

Pp. 74-84. Fritz Conrad, *Die Deminutiva im Altlatein*: I. *Die Deminutive bei Plautus* (continued from XIX, 148), draws his conclusions that in Plautus the diminutives rarely if ever have merely diminutive meaning, but have taken on a tone



of affection or depreciation or jesting, or differ not at all from their primitives; many being used at the ends of verses for metrical convenience.

Pp. 84-94. Ernst Fraenkel, *Zu griechischen Inschriften*: 1) Zu dem lokrischen Siedlungsgesetze, *Insc. graec.*, sel.<sup>4</sup> 46; read ΑΓΧΙΣΤΕΔΑΝ as ἀγχιστήδαν; for the formation of (gen. pl.) ὑπαπροσθιδίων 'der früheren Besitzer', cf. Elean προσυζίων, Collitz-Bechtel 1157.7, and Gort. ἐνδοθιδίαν δώλαν, Coll. 4991. II. 11, and for the semantics of the prefix cf. ὑπόλοιπος as well as Latin proavus and pronepos, etc.; for the composition vowel in ἀνδρεφονικός, cf. ἀνδρεφόνος, Hom. ζείδωρος, Herodian ἀλετρίβανος, Paus. 5, 3, 3 Θηρεφόνῃ; γονεύσιν, ἀνδράσιν, πάντεσιν are the first West Greek examples of nu movable; ἅματα πάντα is a conventional formula, used despite the normal Locr. ἁμάρα. 2) Zu den neugefundenen Inschriften von Cyrene, Ferri ABA 1926, 3 ff., and Wilamowitz SBA 1927, 155 ff.: commentary on ἐννῇ '9'; τριτοπατέρων 'Urahn', with retained ε in stem instead of the ο usual in compounds; κατελήλευθνῖα with ευ as in Cretan ἀμφεληλεύθεν Coll. 4999. II. 4, instead of the weak grade customary in the fem. ptc.; ἰα[ριτε]νωκότων and ἐφορευωκότων with peculiar -ω-; τένται for τέλται = τέλεται, cf. ἔσται ἔσεται; aor. subj. μιῷ 'sündigt', fut. μασει, to μιᾶ-, cf. μιάσωρ, μαρός.

Pp. 93-94. Ernst Fraenkel, *Zur pleonastischen Privativpartikel im Griechischen*, cites as parallels Lith. nēganda(s) 'Unglück, Unheil', to gañdas gandra 'Schrecken', the superfluous negative being due to the pair neláimė 'Unglück', láimė 'Glück'; and Lith. nekliútas 'Unheil', which needs no negative, since it comes from kliúti 'hängen bleiben, festhaken'.

Pp. 94-100. Vittore Pisani, *Die Inschrift der Statuette von Auximum* (Jacobsohn, *Alt. Inscr.* 143): cais paiz variens iuve zal secure (last c engraved backwards) = Caius (sic!) Paetus Varienus Iovem Sol(em) cecidere (= caelavere, cf. Umb. prusekatu). In this, iuvezal is for iuvem sal, with ms > nts, written z with omission of preceding nasal, as in Umb.; \*sal is neuter \*sāwel; the verb is third pl. perf.

Pp. 101-150. Walter Goldberger, *Kraftausdrücke im Vulgärlatein* (continued from XVIII, 65): B. Körperliche Tätigkeiten, dealing with the ideas coire, gehen, sprechen, essen, trinken, and spiritual and intellectual activities; C. Körperliche Eigenschaften, including gross, klein, alt, jung, fett, wohlgenährt, mager, hübsch, hässlich, stark, schwach; Geistige Eigenschaften, including dumm, toll, schlau, etc.; in conclusion, a paragraph on the importance of the subject for the proper understanding of the language.

Pp. 150-152. Willy Krogmann, *Altprehist. vhevhied*, argues that the misshaped second h in *fhefhaked* on the Praenestine Fibula CIL 1<sup>2</sup>, 2, indicates that the maker started to engrave *fhefhied* (misprint for *fhefhiked*?) as perf. to *finco*, the verb appropriate to pottery (cf. *Fal. fified*), and after cutting *fhe:fhi* realized his error and changed to a perfect of *facio*, appropriate for work in bronze.

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## REVIEWS.

Der Glaube der Hellenen, von ULRICH von WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF. Band i. Berlin (Weidmannsche Buchhandlung), 1931. Pp. 412.

Having held his kingship even through three generations of men, the great scholar has now by his end placed the seal of happiness on his life. In the last pages of his last book he tells us of *δαίμονες* and *ψυχαί*, and the last word is "Heros". We who are still in the light will not soon forget to honor his memory nor fail to go to him still for guidance and blessing in our lesser works. *ἄλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ' ἔσῃ ἀντὶ βροτοῖο.*

It is fitting that in this last book Wilamowitz should deal directly with the subject which he has touched on so many sides. It is fitting, too, that of the last book we should have only the first half and the promise of the second; for this earnest of the future is a symbol of the inexhaustible profusion of his learning. We can only hope that the second half is so nearly completed that it can be printed substantially as he would have wished. The first volume closes with the Homeric gods; the second, he tells us in the preface, is to contain chapters on Panhellenische Götter, Weltgeltung und Verfall des Hellenentums, Restauration und Untergang. These chapters we can not willingly spare.

The first volume, which we have before us, is divided into five chapters and an appendix containing nine supplementary studies. The first chapter, "Gott und Götter", deals with certain general aspects of Greek religion and the attitude which the student should assume toward the subject. Great emphasis is laid on the importance of a sympathetic understanding of the actual belief of the Greeks in their gods. More than once the significant sentence is repeated: "Die Götter sind da." The forms of ritual are treated as secondary. The chapter as a whole is a combination of brilliantly expressed pronouncements and a running commentary on views with which the author disagrees. The anthropological method is expressly rejected. "Ich verstehe die Sprachen nicht, aus denen die zurzeit beliebten Wörter, Tabu und Totem, Mana und Orenda, entlehnt sind, halte es aber auch für einen zulässigen Weg, mich an die Griechen zu halten und über Griechisches griechisch zu denken". Again, later in the book, he returns to the same point, with the proud assertions: "Wer von Totemismus bei den Hellenen redet, beweist nur, dass er von ihnen nichts weiss;" and "Über andere Völker habe ich kein Urteil; die Griechen kenne ich." This principle is strictly observed throughout the book; and though the reader is not entertained by picturesque but often illusory parallels from

primitive religions, he is genuinely edified and instructed by the rich learning of a writer who has always sought to 'think Greek'.

The second chapter, "Die Wanderungen der hellenischen Stämme", is occupied with a subject to which Wilamowitz attaches great importance. There is, however, scarcely a word of religion in it, and it appears excessively long in this book, especially as its highly conjectural conclusions play little part in the subsequent discussion.

In the third and fourth chapters the gods of the Greek pantheon, great and small, pass in review. The first of these, "Vorhellenische Götter", presents a list of the gods whom the Greeks took over from the previous inhabitants of the lands in which they settled; but the author maintains that these gods did not exercise any profound influence on Greek religion. The following chapter, "Althellenische Götter", constitutes nearly one-half of the whole book. Here the author undertakes to determine on the basis of later evidence the state of religion among the Greek peoples before their southward migration and before the rise of the epic. It is a brilliant and ingenious reconstruction of a lost age, which rests on a multitude of conjectural conclusions, and since it is the most complete attempt of the kind which has yet been made, it is bound to stand as the authoritative treatment of the subject until it is modified in whole or in part by further research.

The last chapter, "Homerische Götter", describes the transformation to which the ancient religion and its gods were subjected by the Ionian rhapsodes. Poseidon, who had been a god of the earth and the greatest male deity, sinks to comparative insignificance as god of the sea. Zeus, an old weather-god, residing on the mountain-tops, is promoted from his lesser rank to be lord of all the gods. Apollo and other gods of Asia are added to the pantheon. The greatest change that was wrought by the Homeric epic is that, whereas of old the gods had dwelt in and on the earth in immediate association with men and their affairs, they were now removed to the sky and became a heavenly hierarchy with Zeus at their head.

Through the chapters which deal with prehistoric conditions we move like voyagers at sea. The ship in which we sail is stout; but we can scarcely ever forget that we are tossing on an uncertain element, and sometimes our vessel pitches badly. It is inevitable that in such a discussion there should be much of a highly controversial nature. Even when we come into the smoother waters of the Homeric gods, the ship rolls a little for a time. But at the end we set our feet on firm land, and in the second half of the last chapter we are told of things for which, puzzling though they may be, there is sure contemporary evidence, and this evidence is interpreted with Wilamowitz's usual

brilliance and penetration. The last pages of the book discuss such interesting topics as the increasing exaltation of Zeus, the rise of divine genealogies, the freedom of the human will, *αἰδώς*, fate, and *ψυχή*.

As the titles of the chapters indicate, the general treatment is historical, concluding with Homer; but there is much to be learned in the book about post-Homeric conditions as well. The author often yields to the temptation to carry on a particular topic beyond the period for which he begins the discussion. Besides, since the conclusions presented rest principally on evidence drawn from later times, much is said during the course of the book about religion in the classical period. The names of Pindar, Bacchylides, the tragedians, Plato, Callimachus, and many others appear on many pages.

It is not a book for one who would approach it without some knowledge of the subject. Acquaintance with all that has been said on the various topics is assumed. The author's task is simply to say the last word. Of the numberless allusions to the work of other scholars, very many are so concealed that they would not be recognized if the reader were not already familiar with them, some offer a slight clue to the source, and only a few supply a reference sufficiently exact for the purposes of consultation. A further difficulty is that the book does not, like Nilsson's "History of Greek Religion", present the well-considered conclusions of the author, with the essential concrete illustrations; it is a vast assemblage of special studies from which the reader is often left to draw for himself the appropriate conclusions. The author seldom permits himself to write continuous and lucid exposition. For this reason again, the book will be somewhat difficult to use without the index which is to be provided in the second volume. This is important because one will wish to consult the *λόγια* of Wilamowitz on a thousand subjects. It is indeed, to a large degree, a collection of *λόγια* with which we have to do, and to each oracle might be appended the proud words: "So sprach Wilamowitz."

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FR. HEICHELHEIM. *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen der Zeit von Alexander bis Augustus*. Jena, Fischer, 1930. 142 pp.

Heichelheim has here attempted for the first time to work out a graph to show the fluctuation of prices in the Eastern Mediterranean from 300 B. C. to the time of Augustus. His four very interesting chapters deal with the history of money for the period, the changes of prices in natural products, similar changes in rents and prices of real estate, and a discussion of freight

charges, wages, costs of living, and interest rates. Then he gives the tables of known prices on which his discussion is based and finally an economic chart displaying the fluctuations.

Much of the material is taken, of course, from the researches of Wilcken, Grenfell and Hunt, Glotz, Jardé, Ziebarth, Gerth, Segré, and others, but he has a complete command of his sources and often uses unpublished material. The chief value of the work lies in its brilliant interpretation of data already collected and the combination of observations into a unified picture. In general he seems to have proved that high prices, which followed Alexander's conquests, held fairly well till about 300-280 B. C., then fell gradually till about 250. There followed a slight rise with a perceptible fall about 225, then a noticeable rise about the end of the century. Through the middle of the second century prices are low, probably because of sluggish economic activity. The century ends (a period of piracy) in a rise of prices. Very interesting are his attempts to show how the silver coinage of the states of the Aegean suffered in consequence of Rome's intervention in the East after 200, and his very reasonable discussion of ratios between silver and bronze in Egypt. Numismatists working in museums have seldom dared to consider the economic implications of their datings. Heichelheim sees coins not as museum pieces but as media of exchange.

Needless to say he does not claim to give a final conclusion. By accident the price lists of Delos happen to be made up of articles that concerned temples. We can hardly match the U. S. Labor Department statistics with lists made from the prices of wheat, oil, pigs, geese, wood, pitch, and a few other minor articles. Furthermore, the measures, like the keramion, are somewhat fickle and the wages given are not always for full days. At times the author has apparently been tempted to simplify his problem. He has rightly seen the effects of Ptolemaic military defeats on the coinage in Egypt, but in comparing prices of articles like wheat, barley, and wine with those of the Aegean and of Italy, the effects of monopolistic control and of the nature of Egyptian production deserved a fuller consideration. Then, too, the fall of prices after 300 is explained too simply by reference to increased production. To be sure the Alexandrian booty was being absorbed in production to some extent, but the metals were also being diverted into articles of luxury, monopolies were growing, and the periods of alternate war and peace affected the markets seriously. Not enough attention is paid to historical events.

Finally, he is rather reckless about his Italian prices. Rostovtzeff (*Art. Frumentum*, P. W., 147) long ago insisted that the prices quoted for the Po-valley were abnormally low. In fact, Polybius says they were. To take these as normal prices for Italy is to disregard the text and the fact that freight charges

were very high. It can be demonstrated that the normal price of wheat at Rome in Cato's day did not range far from three denarii for four modii—which is more than three times the price that Heichelheim assumes in order to establish a working relation of prices between Italy and the East. In fact, freight charges were too high to allow of trans-shipment of bulky articles of moderate prices between Rome and the East except at times of famine.

Nevertheless Heichelheim's book is a good, if daring, beginning. When we get fuller price lists, the work will be carried on along the lines he has indicated and supplemented with a fuller knowledge of historical events.

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A Concordance of Prudentius. ROY JOSEPH DEFERRARI and JAMES MARSHALL CAMPBELL. The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass., 1932. x + 833 pp. \$12.30.

The Mediaeval Academy of America deserves the special thanks of all Latinists for this important addition to their scholarly apparatus. The Concordance is based on the text of Prudentius published by J. Bergman, Vienna, 1926 (*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vol. LXI), all variant readings and conjectures being ignored. The volume is well planned: homonyms are carefully separated, and an adequate amount of context is given under each heading. After a reasonable number of tests, one feels that the compilers have attained a high degree of accuracy. The typography is excellent.

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Ovid's Fasti, with an English Translation by Sir JAMES GEORGE FRAZER. London, William Heinemann Ltd.; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931. xxxii + 461 pp. \$2.50.

One of the latest and most interesting volumes of the Loeb Classical Library. The text and translation are reproduced from the translator's large edition of the Fasti, in five volumes, London, 1929. The notes have been specially written for this edition by Dr. W. H. D. ROUSE, one of the general editors of the Library. Dr. ROUSE has also added an Appendix, of 58 pp., selected and abridged from the rich store of commentary in the editio maior. This treats of such topics as, Lupercalia, Regifugium, Mars,

Nemi, The Parilia, Semo Sancus, etc. The book is well planned, and very carefully printed—a model of accuracy for future contributors to the series.

W. P. M.

Francesco Petrarca: Luoghi dell' "Africa." Traduzione e Note per cura di ENRICO CARRARA. Milano, Carlo Signorelli, 1930. 143 pp. 6 Lire.

Students of Renaissance Latin will be interested in these selections from Petrarch's Latin poem *Africa*. Professor CARRARA gives 30 illustrative passages, a total of 2100 lines. His text is taken in the main from the National Edition of the *Africa* published by Nicola Festa, Florence, 1928. It is accompanied by a version in Italian prose, with an introductory note to each selection, and some brief comments. Perhaps a few more parallels might have been cited from Statius and Claudian (A.J.P. XLII 108-121). P. 81, l. 683, *gladio* should be *gladios*.

W. P. M.

Les Satires de Juvénal: Étude et Analyse par PIERRE DE LABRIOLLE. Mellottée, Paris, 1931. 367 pp. 20 fr.

Here is an excellent study of Juvenal, written for the general reader by a professor at the Sorbonne. It gives the contents of each Satire, partly by direct translation, with some discussion of the subject and its treatment. Something is said occasionally of the more important imitations and adaptations of Juvenal by later writers, especially in France. One further instance which might have been mentioned is the free use Aeneas Silvius made of the Fifth Satire in his *De Curialium Miseriis*.

W. P. M.

Aristotle's Psychology of Conduct. By A. K. GRIFFIN. Williams Norgate Ltd., London 1931. 186 pp.

This book purports to be "a general consecutive account of the psychology of conduct" as it exists in scattered passages of Aristotle's works. The author has collected these passages and put them into the order they would presumably have had in a special Aristotelian treatise on this subject. After a brief exposition of Aristotle's statements concerning the parts and functions of the soul and a more extensive description of the contents of the desiderative part of the soul, there follow in three chapters lists of the instincts and emotions, the habits which, developing



from the various desires, proceed to create character, and the characteristics, that is the virtues and vices, which are the results of the process. A short chapter concerned with the changes in character due to the growth of the individual and the change of external circumstances concludes the book.

The work is strictly what the author promises, a collection of passages from Aristotle's writings; except for the collection and arrangement of these excerpts very little has been added to Aristotle's own words. For the most part the passages quoted are given in the versions of the Oxford Translations; but now and then for quotations of a few words the author gives his own translation. In one case (p. 63), the sentence "Physical love is ideally a sort of excess of affection, and that is only possible towards one person" is a mistranslation which weakens the position of Aristotle. The Greek means: "It (passionate love) tends to be an excess of affection, and that towards one person." There is, apart from a few typographical errors in the references, a misuse of *De Sensu* 436A9. In that passage anger and appetite are not called desires but are listed with sensation, memory, and desire generally as characteristic marks of animals. Sometimes the abruptness of the quotation comes very near to resulting in a false statement. On page 24 after speaking of desire, pleasure, and pain, the author quotes *De Anima* 413B21: "Each of the parts has sensation and movement from place to place . . ."; in its context the word "parts" refers to parts of insects, not to divisions of the soul. On page 71 it is said that "longing" is "the last stage of love" although the passage cited as authority for the statement reads: "And this is the beginning of love for everyone."

Professor Griffin's own remarks are chiefly brief recapitulations of the passages he quotes; but now and then he mentions the relation of Aristotle's doctrine to that of Plato. On page 34 he says that the definition of pleasure which Aristotle refutes ("Every pleasure is the conscious generation of a natural state") is Platonic. This certainly is not true; that Speusippos used it is merely Fritzsche's guess, and Stewart's suggestion that it belongs rather to Aristippus is much more plausible.

In the preface it is made "one of Aristotle's glories that he has cut ethics and politics loose from metaphysics"; but the importance of the "intuitive reason" in Aristotle's system makes it plain that he did not succeed in this operation. Professor Griffin practically admits this on page 127. He should not have allowed the contradiction to stand. And admirers of Aristotle may console themselves for his failure by remembering that no one has ever devised an ethics capable of existing without a foundation in *objective* truth.

This book as a collection of the Aristotelian passages pertinent to the psychology of conduct should fulfil the author's hope in

offering students an easy approach to the *Ethics* and the *Politics*. It would have proved much more convenient, however, had it been equipped with an index.

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EDWARD KENNARD RAND. A Preliminary Study of Alcuin's Bible. Reprinted from *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, October, 1931, pp. 323-396. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

The science of Latin paleography began under Mabillon with a controversy over the date and authenticity of certain documents. At this moment our knowledge of one of its most interesting departments, the history of the School of Tours under Alcuin and his successors, is being powerfully furthered by a friendly debate between Rand and Köhler. Rand, in his "Survey of the MSS of Tours" (1929; 200 plates) approached the subject as a paleographer; Köhler, in "Die Schule von Tours," Vol. I of his "Karolingische Miniaturen" (1930; 124 plates), as an art critic. In this brochure, Rand notes that Köhler sanctions his attribution of 232 MSS to Tours in all but 28 cases; he proceeds to discuss their more important divergences with signal acuteness and learning. As his previous study of the Morgan Pliny MS furnished the student of text criticism with an admirable introduction, the Rand-Köhler Tours discussion (continued in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 193 (1931), 321-359) provides the young paleographer with the best of material. Especially interesting is Rand's treatment of the Morgan Gospels and the Bamberg Bible, to which he would assign an early date; the Ashburnham Pentateuch, which he thinks may have had great influence on the Tours School; and his demonstration of the importance of the Bible text and the Capitula as dating criteria. Altogether this is a piece of criticism of which our lamented master Traube, whom Rand invokes at the beginning, would have been deservedly proud.

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C. Sallustii Crispi Epistulae ad Caesarem Senem de Re Publica iterum edidit ALPHONSUS KURFESS. Teubner, Leipzig, 1930. Pp. vi + 29.

There are few changes in the new edition of the Sallustian suasoriae. More than a score of items have been added to the

bibliography in the last ten years, and recent opinion is almost unanimous that the works are genuine. Only in the case of the second suasoria are there difficulties, but, as Seel (Otto Seel, *Sallust von den Briefen ad Caesarem zur Coniuratio Catilinae*, Teubner, Leipzig, 1930) points out, many of these vanish as soon as we fix the date near the close of the year 50 B. C., before, not after, the beginning of the civil war. This view I share, having adopted it, like Seel, independently of Gelzer, whose argument is quoted by Seel and who anticipated us both (for my article see *The Classical Weekly*, XXI, 19-23). My statement of the case is somewhat fuller than his. The setting for the epistle is provided by Dio Cassius XL, 63-66. Pompey has intervened by force of arms; Caesar has not yet done so. In fact the writer's chief concern is to convince Caesar that in his own interest and in that of his country he must intervene.

The greatest difficulty that remains, that of the forty senators and many promising youths besides who were offered as victims to Cato (II, 4, 2), Domitius, and the rest of their faction, is not insuperable. I formerly suggested that this might be a reference to the activity of Cicero during and after the Catilinarian conspiracy; indeed the reference to Sulla here might well be prompted by the same considerations that led to the comparison of Cicero with Sulla in the *Invective against Cicero* (3, 6) that is attributed to Sallust. One would expect, however, a reference to something more recent, such as the degradation of senators and knights in 50 B. C. by the censor Appius; and Sallust's language can be interpreted to fit Dio's account quite closely if we adopt, as I believe we should, the suggestion of Harriet Dale Johnson (Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Vol. LXI, page XXXIX) that *mactati* need not mean 'slain' in the literal sense. Furthermore, we should read in the text *Catoni* and interpret the dative not as a Greek dative of agent, but like the dative with *θῷ*. Compare Tacitus *Annals*, II, 13: *perfidus et ruptores pacis ultioni et gloriae mactandos* (this was pointed out by Otto Gebhardt in *Philologische Wochenschrift*, LI (1931), 1038). The senators were sacrificed to the interests of Cato's party when they were expelled from the senate. Since Sallust was included by the censor amongst those expelled in spite of his noble birth, he might be pardoned a rather rhetorical reference to the event. Rhetoric and a bold use of language are decidedly characteristic of his style.

There is one defect that vitiates much of the discussion of these works, a failure to take into consideration the Greek sources of Sallust. Kurfess, though he lists my article in his bibliography, still prints the emendation *coaequatur* at II, 8, 2. So does Rolfe in the revised Loeb. Since objections to the genuineness of the epistle have been based on this passage, and since the note of Edmar (Birger Edmar, *Studien zu den Epistulae ad*

Caesarem Senem de Re Publica, Ohlsson, Lund 1931) does nothing to clear it up, I may perhaps be pardoned for pointing out once more that Sallust is adapting Plato *Menexenus* 238 D. The passage in Sallust, properly punctuated, is: ita coaequantur dignitate pecunia; virtute anteire alius alium properabit. Compare Plato: τὰς δὲ ἀρχὰς δίδωσι καὶ κράτος τοῖς δὲ δόξασιν ἀρίστοις εἶναι, καὶ οὔτε ἀσθενείᾳ οὔτε πένιᾳ οὐτ' ἀγνωσίᾳ πατέρων ἀπελήλαται οὐδέ τις. The idea is that if inequalities based on birth and property are removed, then the road will be open to real worth. If the Latin must be emended, the simplest change would be to insert 'et' after dignitate, where it might easily have fallen out. The force of dignitate is apparent if we note the contrast with pecunia in II, 7, 11 above: iudices a paucis probari regnum est, ex pecunia legi inhonestum. Sallust does not want wealth to be equalized with rank or worth; he wants neither to count for anything in elections. The use of Greek sources in the suasoriae is the strongest evidence for their genuineness. Since studies of clausulae, vocabulary, and grammar tend more and more to confirm Sallustian authorship, the question may be regarded as settled. The edition of Edmar provides abundant evidence on all points where Greek is not involved. Unfortunately neither Kurfess nor any other commentator supplies the lack of references to Greek parallels; and my own modest effort to do so remains a solitary and unregarded guidepost.

It is sad to contemplate the wasted effort of those who take Sallust seriously as a statesman. His programs are as rhetorical and as flimsy as any modern political platform. They are full of catchwords, traditional party cries, and noble sentiments; but they do not reveal either Sallust's purpose or Caesar's. To be sure Sallust definitely went over to Caesar when he was expelled from the senate, and we have presumably in the second suasoria his public announcement of the fact. He appeals to Caesar to save Rome for democracy, an appeal that Caesar found very useful; it enabled him to pose as a liberator. Compare his words (*Civil War*, I, 22, 5): se non maleficii causa ex provincia egressum sed uti populum Romanum factione paucorum oppressum in libertatem vindicaret. But neither Sallust nor Caesar was prepared to sacrifice personal advantage to principles. Political programs, when the election or the war is won, are easily forgotten. Sallust's epistles were thoroughly ephemeral; that is what makes them interesting as sidelights on history.

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A. Von Gerkan. *Lauf der Römischen Stadtmauer vom Kapitol zum Aventin*. Röm. Mitt., 1931, pp. 155-188.

Von Gerkan attempts to show that the Servian wall did not reach the Tiber, but ran from the Capitoline to the Palatine and thence to the Aventine. The essay is very important, continuing the work of Bunsen, Piganiol, and Sæflund, and criticizing the views of Huelsen and Lanciani. I have space here for a few brief expressions of doubt. Von Gerkan thinks the Forum Boarium was merely a marsh till about 200 B. C. Yet in 213 B. C. it was so built over that a fire spread all the way from the Salinae to the Capitol. There is no reason to think that the Tiber overflowed its banks till its upper course was deforested, and the Ciminian forest still existed in the third century.

He also thinks that there was no room for an Emporium south of the Porta Trigemina, if we place the gate where Huelsen did; but if he will examine the Tiber bank at low water a few meters north of the new Victor Emanuel bridge, he will find remnants of a Faliscan-lava pavement of the kind that was used in 174 B. C. (*Roman Buildings*, 54).

The temple of Mater Matuta, which we know was in the Forum Boarium, he places near the Roman Forum inside of the wall that he relocates near the Aequimelium. Is it possible to suppose that the Forum Boarium lay on both sides of the wall?

He does not interpret Livy 24, 47, 15 naturally, where the contrast of *et extra* to the preceding phrases implies that the Forum Boarium was inside the wall, and he has some difficulty in explaining Livy (2, 10) and Dionysius (5, 23), who say explicitly that there was no wall on the side of the city that touched the river.

He doubts a sixth century wall at Rome, but why should he in view of Signia's early fortification?

Finally, if Rome's harbor was exposed when Hannibal marched on Rome, why did he not march in below the Capitoline, seize the Forum Boarium, and try to starve the city into submission, and why did not the Marian party do so in 87? Marius had to build pontoons above and below the city in order to control the harbor.

Von Gerkan's article touches the interpretation of many passages in the Latin authors and it will awaken much debate. We are grateful for a thorough discussion, and excavations may prove that he is correct. But I am not yet convinced.

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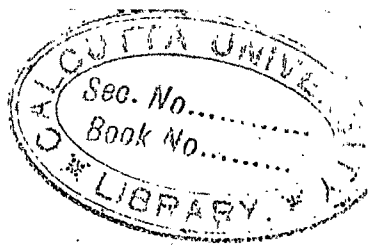
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## THE PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE HITTITE VERB.

[The article is an attempt to trace the connection of practically the entire system of Hittite verb-endings with the primitive Indo-European as known before the discovery of Hittite, instead of assuming the latter to have retained a very large proportion of pre-Indo-European elements.]

There are only a few elements<sup>1</sup> of the Hittite conjugation which cannot be traced to some IE source with plausibility. If there are nevertheless numerous difficulties and uncertainties in the interpretation of its verb forms, the cause usually lies in the existence of several possibilities rather than in the absence of any probable explanation. This condition is due to the ambiguities of the cuneiform system of writing as well as to far-reaching phonetic changes. Thus the syllable variously represented by *ta* or *da* may represent IE *ta*, *da*, *tha*, *dha*, *to*, *do*, *tho*, and *dho*, and although some of these possibilities are usually eliminated by comparison and in other ways, yet there are enough left to warn us against being too certain that the first suggestion which comes to the mind must be the right one.

In the second place, varying interpretations result from a fundamental difference of point of view as to what we are to assume as to the relation of Hittite forms to those of the other IE languages when Hittite stands by itself. The general acceptance of Forrer's doctrine<sup>2</sup> that Hittite separated from the Indo-European at an earlier time than the other IE languages, has

<sup>1</sup> Such are e. g. the rare voluntatives in *-lu* (1. pers. sing.) and *-la* (1. pl.), the *l* of which suggests nothing whatsoever in other IE languages.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Forrer, *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft* 61. 26; Sturtevant, *TAPA* 60. 25 ff.

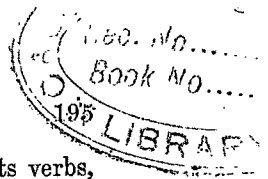
led e. g. to the tacit assumption that Hittite evidence is normally on a par with the combined evidence of all the other IE languages. It has led, at least in practice, to Sturtevant's establishing a pre-Indo-European Indo-Hittite<sup>3</sup> language in the reconstruction of which Hittite furnishes the all-important evidence. But here serious misgivings arise as to the principles of reconstruction involved. The fact that Hittite separated before a number of changes took place in the other IE languages, does not mean that wherever Hittite stands alone the other languages were the innovators. To make such an assumption even in practice is a *petitio principii* which leads to reconstructions of which only a small part give promise of being true. On the contrary, on every single point involved it is necessary to weigh the probability of Hittite being the innovator, and whether it is not possible to derive the Hitt. form from what is already known about the primitive IE. Whenever we can see our way clear to such a derivation the chances of being right are decidedly better than if we assume the Hitt. as an earlier form parallel to IE and derive an Indo-Hittite form from this combination. One may even go a step farther, and say that unless clear and certain examples of Hittite retaining a pre-Indo-European phenomenon are much more frequent than now known, the probability is much greater that in case of a form not readily interpreted Hittite is the innovator. In all such instances Hittite is only one of the IE languages, the evidence of which is no more important than that of Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin.

These considerations are further strengthened by multifarious evidence that Hittite, old as its documents are, had already reconstructed its entire IE inheritance<sup>4</sup> in a most astounding

<sup>3</sup> See loc. cit. 27.

<sup>4</sup> A good example of the misleading result of ignoring this fact in the pronominal field is the theory which Sturtevant, JAOS 47. 174 ff., presents concerning the IE stem *\*to-*, which he identifies with Hitt. *tas* acc. *tan* in spite of the fact that Ungnad, ZA Neue Folge 2, 104, and Friedrich, ib. 289-296, have convinced him that the latter is a contraction of the particle *ta* with the enclitic pronoun *-as*. Sturtevant assumes that consequently the IE pronoun *\*to-* was only beginning to develop when Hittite separated, and the paradigm as we know it was of a later age. That this cannot be correct is shown by the remnants of the archaic pronoun *sas* (Delaporte 39 f.), which has the acc. *sem* and neuter pl. *se* among its forms. Now nobody could possibly doubt that

PERSONAL ENDINGS OF THE HITTITE VERB.



and thoroughgoing way. This is particularly true of its verbs, the first examination of which might lead us to imagine that its two tenses of the indicative, imperative, and a few verbal nouns represent the most primitive IE (or IH) verb paradigm. Nevertheless a deeper penetration into the Hittite reveals to us the fact that its verb system is full of the wreckage of the older IE verb system as known to us from the other languages. Thus we find in the present medio-passive remnants of the IE past or secondary endings as well, and in the single Hitt. preterite tense there are traces of the IE imperfect, *s*-aorist, and perfect tenses. To take another instance, the fact that the Hitt. verb knows no dual might lead us to believe that the IE dual did not develop till after the separation of Hittite, but here even general considerations of probability protest, for the dual is a very primitive category which we expect to recede rather than advance at this comparatively late age. Then too we find an actual trace of it in the 1. pers. plural ending *-weni*, the *-we-* of which is the IE *-ue* Skt. *-va* of the 1. pers. dual, and we can be sure that Hittite made a plural out of the dual rather than that the others made a dual out of the plural. To take one more instance, Hittite shows no trace of the subjunctive, but we cannot draw any conclusions from this as to the age of the mode, for granted its existence, its disappearance in Hittite would be almost a foregone conclusion, since the wiping out of the differences between the vowel quantities<sup>5</sup> caused the subjunctive to lose its identity in the thematic conjugation where in other languages the difference was most clearly marked. Following out such lines of reasoning, it appears

the distribution of forms between the IE stems in *to-* and *so-* as found e. g. in Gr. nom. sing. *ὁ ἦ τό*, acc. *τόν τήν τό*, nom. pl. *τοί ται τά*, or in Goth. *sa sō pata* etc., must have been the older state of affairs, for it is inconceivable that such an irregular paradigm should have won out in the entire IE territory after regular paradigms were in existence. Consequently the Hitt. acc. *san* is the IE *\*tom* Skt. *tām* Gr. *τόν* with its initial *t-* changed to *s-* by analogy to the nom. *sas* = IE *\*so* with final *-s* by analogy to other nominatives. Thus Hittite itself points to an older period when the IE or, if you like, IH, possessed the pronoun *to-* in the same form as it existed in Greek, Sanskrit, or Gothic, and we must consequently draw the conclusion that Hitt. *tas* has nothing to do with the IE pronoun *to-* except insofar as at a very remote period the particle Hitt. *ta* was ultimately the stem of the pronoun.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. AJP 51.258 on the question of the continuance of vowel quantities in Hittite.

that with a few possible exceptions as e. g. the *sgo*-future or the augment, the IE verb system was fully developed before the separation of Hittite. As a corollary we have no right to use forms in which Hittite differs from Indo-European as reconstructed to establish a still more primitive Indo-Hittite form unless we have exhausted every possibility of explaining the Hitt. form as an innovation on the basis of the IE as already known.

It is this point of view that justifies my discussion of the personal endings of the Hitt. verb system even after their history has been largely discussed by others. My attempt to ascertain the origin of a form is always based on the presumption that the IE as known was the starting point in the great majority of instances, and that only rarely could the Hittite be taken as descended directly from a pre-Indo-European form. It must also be observed that in the explanations offered I differ fundamentally from the point of view of those who see in all the elements abstracted by grammatical analysis real entities<sup>6</sup> with original separate existence and real significance. Observation of the processes observed in living languages rather indicates that patterning of one form after another, usually without any analysis worth the name, is the ordinary creative process which is at the basis of new verbal formations as well as of all others.

After these preliminary remarks on the presuppositions on which this study is based, I proceed to take up the individual forms about which there is not yet unanimity of opinion.

1. *The First and Second Plural Active Present.* The identity of the endings of the Hitt. sing. and third pl. active present, sc. *-mi*, *-si*, *-zi*, *-nzi* with the IE *-mi*, *si*,<sup>7</sup> *-ti*, *-nti*<sup>8</sup> is so clear that there could be no discussion. Cf. e. g. the endings of Hitt. *daski-mi*,<sup>9</sup> *daski-si*, *daski-zzi*,<sup>10</sup> *dasga-nzi* 'take' with those of Skt. *bhārā-mi*, *bhāra-si*, *bhāra-ti*, *bhāra-nti* 'bear'. The only

<sup>6</sup> So e. g. Hirt in his *Indogermanische Grammatik*.

<sup>7</sup> These are the normal endings of the *mi*-conjugation. When *-ti* appears in the 2. sing., e. g. *ep-ti* 'thou takest' beside the regular *ep-si*, it is carried over from the *hi*-conjugation (see no. 2), where it was regular.

<sup>8</sup> So already Hrozný, *Die Sprache der Hetither* 154 f.

<sup>9</sup> In both Hitt. and Skt. the *-mi* was transferred from the athematic also to the thematic conjugation.

<sup>10</sup> Doubling of consonants in Hittite is without etymological significance.

needed supplementation of Hrozný's identification of these forms was to establish as regular the sound change *ti* > *zi*, for which cf. Sturtevant Lang. 4.228 f. The Hitt. 2 pers. pl., as seen by Marstrand, is also clear enough as to its relationship, for the Hitt. *-teni* of e. g. *daski-tteni* or *dasga-tteni* corresponds to the Vedic Skt. *-thana* of *váda-thana* 'you speak'. The IE form probably is *-te-ne*, i. e. the particle *\*ne* after the regular IE ending *-te* found e. g. in Gr. *φέρετε*. The Hitt. *-teni* corresponds sound for sound, except that its final *-i* is scarcely the phonetic descendant of IE *e*, since it does not alternate with *e*,<sup>12</sup> but is rather due to assimilation to the *-i* of the singular and 3. pl.

More obscure is the history of the first pl. in *-weni*, e. g. *dasga-weni*, except that *-ni* was added by analogy to the 2. pl. in *-teni*, and that *-we* is the same IE *-uē* that otherwise appears as secondary ending of the first person dual, e. g. in the Skt. imperfect *á-bharā-va* 'bore' and the OBlg. aorist *vezo-vē* 'drove'. The relation of this dual meaning to the plural of Hittite is disputed, however, as also the relation of Hitt. *-weni* to the equivalent *-meni* which occurs after *u-stems*, e. g. in *arnu-mmeni* 'we bring'. That the latter contains the IE secondary *-me* of the 1 pl. as in Skt. *á-bharā-ma*, is of course certain, but that *-ue* and *-me* were mere phonetic variants (Sturtevant AJP 50. 360 ff.) arising by dissimilation of *uue* to *ume*, is made improbable by the need of assuming that the dual, which belongs to a primitive state of language (see introductory remarks), the elimination of which usually begins at quite an early date, must be supposed to have developed in IE after the separation of Hittite. It is therefore more probable that after the loss of the dual in Hittite, *-ue* and *-me* were used promiscuously for a while, and were then redistributed according to phonetic principles.<sup>13</sup>

2. *The Present of the hi-Conjugation.* Professor Sturtevant, Lang. 2. 33 f., showed that the IE perfect is represented to a certain extent by the present of the Hitt. *hi*-conjugation. The

<sup>11</sup> Caractère indo-européen de la langue hittite (Christiania 1919) p. 91.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Marstrand, op. cit. 121 ff. on Hitt. alternation of *e* and *i*.

<sup>13</sup> I am not denying the validity of the phonetic law referred to, but only its applicability in this particular instance, and even here the condition created by it elsewhere led to the redistribution mentioned.

IE perfect thus became a real Hitt. present comparable to the Germanic preterite-presents, of which one, sc. Goth. *wait* Germ. *weiss* Skt. *vêda* Gr. *oîda* < \**foida* (from \**uoida*) was already an IE development. The support for this conclusion comes from the sing.<sup>14</sup> endings *-hi*, *-ti*, *-i* e. g. in *da-hhi da-tti da-i* 'take', which suggest the IE *-a -tha -e* as found in Skt. *vêd-a vêt-tha vêd-a* or Gr. *oîd-a oîoθa* (< \**foid-θa*) *oîd-ε*. With the assertion that these are the ultimate source of the Hitt. endings one cannot disagree. Nevertheless there are details which may seem doubtful. These concern the occurrence of the vowel *-i* on the one hand, and the *-h-* of the 1. sing. on the other. To begin with the simplest instance, the IE *-tha* of the 2. sing. (Gr. *oîo-θa*) should yield Hitt. *-ta* instead of *-ti*, and this led Marstrander, op. cit. 94 f., to derive the latter from IE *-dhi* of the imperative, as in Gr. *î-θe* 'go', but not only is a transfer of an imperative to indicative usage improbable in itself, but in Hittite this explanation suffers still more from the fact that the imperative itself does not know *-ti*. The correct interpretation is that of Friedrich, ZDMG 76. 167, sc. that Hitt. *-ta* < IE *-tha* changed to *-ti* because of assimilation to the *-si* of the *mi*-conjugation, or perhaps also to the 2. pl. *-teni* of both conjugations. The same explanation is readily applied to the 3. sing. in *-i* instead of IE *-e*, which in Hitt. may appear as *e* alternating with *i*, but not as *i* only. Cf. Sturtevant, Lang. 7. 247; on *-ti*. In this case, of course, the main inducing forms were the third persons, sc. the sing. in *-zi* of the *-mi* conjugation, and the pl. *-nzi* of both.

Also the *-i* of the ending *-hi* of the first person ought to cause no trouble, for the IE *-a* was readily assimilated to the *-i* of *-mi* and the pl. *-meni* of both conjugations. However, the *h* complicates the situation. Sturtevant assumed an IE (or rather Indo-Hittite) *-a-hi*, which yielded the IE middle ending *-ai* of e. g. Skt. *ās-ē* 'I sit' after loss of the *h*. Cf. his article in Lang. 4. 159 ff., in which he argues that Hitt. *h* was generally an old sound which was lost in IE after the separation of Hittite. Here, however, there is danger of building a complex superstructure on a very shaky foundation, for any sweeping judgment as to the origin of Hitt. *h* is, to say the least, premature, although it is quite possible, and certainly cannot be disproved,

<sup>14</sup> The plural endings are identical with those of the *mi*-conjugation.

that *h* may here and there be as old as Sturtevant claims. Against accepting his theory in general one should be warned not only by the fact that the latter himself pointed out a number of instances in which initial Hitt. *h*- probably corresponds to IE *bh*- (see Lang. 3. 109 ff.), and that therefore one would certainly go wrong by putting into another pigeon-hole everything of which we do not know the origin, but we also should take cognizance of the fact that wherever *h* is found elsewhere it is apt to be a sound of heterogenous and elusive origin, and that in a large number of instances it has a graphic value only. Thus, to take a single example, the German *h* represents an IE *k* in *Haber-geiss*: Gr. *κάπρος* Lat. *caper*, an IE labio-velar *kʷ* in *sehen*: Lat. *sequor*; it is part of a digraph to represent guttural spirants in *ich*, *ach*, and *auch*; it is part of the combination *sch* which represents a single sibilant e. g. in *Schwein*; it is a mere device to mark two consecutive vowels as forming distinct syllables in *stehen* and *gehen*; and a graphic device to mark a long vowel e. g. in *Ehre*, *wahr*, *Ohr*. A priori, we should expect also Hitt. *h* to have a heterogenous origin, and until much more information about its origin in reliable instances is accumulated, caution against building anything upon an IH origin of *h* is certainly in order. Thus one may suspect that in a large number of instances it is no more than a hiatus avoiding device comparable to the *h* of Cockney English (e. g. *the hillness of Mr. Ill for the illness of Mr. Hill*)<sup>15</sup> or the *h* in Umbr. *stahu* < \**stajō* or Osc. *stahint* < \**stajēnt*, see Buck Gram. of Osc. and Umbr. 54. We find Hitt. *h* occurring between two vowels in a large number of instances, and it is significant in this connection that it occurs almost regularly between *a* and a vowel (cf. e. g. *hahhimas*,<sup>16</sup> *lahhus*, *mahhan*, *pahhur*, *sahessar*, *taharan*, *zahhais*, but almost never between *u* and a vowel, for under the latter condition the consonantal *u* developed, so that there was no hiatus to avoid. Cf. e. g. *huwantis*, *kuwali*, *luluwait*, *nuwwa*, *suwaizzi* 'presses out' (root *-su-*: Skt. *sunōti*). Coming back to Hitt. *-hi* of the 1. sing., it seems most probable that it arose by adding the IE ending *-a* (changed to Hitt. *-i* by analogy to *-zi*) to vowel stems, which developed an intervocalic *h* as a hiatus

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Jespersen, *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* 95 ff., for a discussion of the condition under which this takes place.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. note 10.

avoiding device. This *h* was apparently strong enough to be apperceived as a sound and was then transferred also to the comparatively few consonant stems of the Hitt. *hi*-conjugation, e. g. *ar-hi* 'I arrive'. This spread of the *-hi* to all verbs of the conjugation offered a chance to distinguish everywhere between 1. and 3 pers. sing., the latter of which also had *-i* (see above).

3. *The IE Perfect in Hittite.* Nevertheless Sturtevant's derivation of the *hi*-present from the IE perfect stands in principle. On the other hand, the Hitt. *hi*-present is not the only heir to the IE perfect, for there are equally important traces of the latter in the Hitt. preterite tense. Its second person sing. in *-ta* is so clearly the IE perfect in *-tha* that there is no doubting (cf. Friedrich l. c.). Thus Hitt. *es-ta* 'thou wast' is the Gr.  $\tilde{\eta}\sigma\theta\alpha$  and the Skt.  $\tilde{a}s-i\text{-}tha$ . Also of perfect origin is the *r*-form of the 3. pl. in *-ir* (*-er*), e. g. *epp-ir* 'they took' or *es-er* 'they were', which is the Skt.  $\tilde{a}s-\acute{u}h$ <sup>17</sup> (< *-ur*), cf. e. g. Lat. *vidē-re* 'they saw'. See Brugmann, Gr.<sup>2</sup> 2. 3. 658 f. The IE perfect was thus treated in Hittite as in Germanic. As the IE present perfect became the Germanic preterite-presents, so it became the *hi*-present in Hittite. On the other hand, the IE perfect as preterite, i. e. the historical perfect, became the Germanic preterite, and in Hittite contributed a number of features to the Hitt. preterite, although here merged with imperfect and aorist forms. The Hitt. thus gives further support to those who, like the writer (Lang. 4. 274 f.), maintain that the historical perfect goes back to IE times, and that Greek had lost this usage, of which it, however, still shows traces in the influence of the perfect on the inflection of the sigmatic aorist. We are thus not forced to assume that the historical perfect developed independently in practically every IE language, and that the surprising similarity of the history of the IE perfect in two languages as far apart as Germanic and Hittite was accidental.

4. *The Hittite Preterite.* That Hitt. *-ta* of the 2. sing. preterite and *-ir* (*-er*) of the 3. pl. are derived from the IE perfect was mentioned above, as also the probability that certain other forms are derived from the *s*-aorist. These are *-sta* (2. and 3. sing.), e. g. *au-sta* 'saw', the 3. sing. in *-s*, e. g. *da-s* 'he took', and the 2. pl. in *sten*, as *nai-sten* 'you directed', with which cf.

<sup>17</sup> The relation of the various vowels preceding the *r* is obscure.



Skt. *á-nāi-s-ta* 'you led'. This is the explanation of Marstrander, op. cit. 84 ff., who, however, erroneously saw traces also of the *s-future*. The existence of both *s-aorist* and *s-future* was doubted by Friedrich, p. 170, but that of the former was accepted by various scholars, e. g. Louis H. Gray in Lang. 6. 235. It will be worth while to examine these forms more closely to see whether other better explanations are at hand.

One's first thought about the 2. sing. in *-sta* is that it might have arisen by contamination of the *-s* of the *mi*-conjugation (see below) and the *-ta* of the *hi*-conjugation, but since *-s* is rigidly barred from the latter and *-sta* is not found in the former, there is no point of contact and the explanation is impossible. Of the *-sta* of the 3. sing. we can say that it could not have been original under any circumstances, and was an analogical form arising from the tendency of the 2. and 3. pers. sing. pret. to end alike (see below). As to the *-s* of the 3. sing., an enticing explanation at first sight would be that since *-t* and *-s* occur alongside of each other in the 2. sing. pret., it led to the formation also of the 3. sing. in *-s* alongside of *-t*. Again the distribution of forms objects, for *-s* of the 2. sing. is found only in *mi*-verbs, and *-s* of the 3. sing. only in *hi*-verbs, and there is no chance for contamination. The same thing again in case of *-sten* of the 2. pl., which occurs only in the *hi*-conjugation, whereas *-ten* belongs only to the *mi*-conjugation, so that it is impossible that the coexistence of *-sta* and *-ta* in the singular *hi*-verbs caused *-sten* beside *-ten* in the plural.

There is therefore hardly a way out of taking the *s* in these forms as a stem suffix used to form the preterite, and as such it can only be the *s* of the *s-aorist*. In understanding the reason for their existence it is significant that all *s*-forms belong to the *hi*-conjugation only. At one stage the perfect evidently became the regular preterite of the ordinary presents which became the verbs of the Hitt. *mi*-conjugation, but those verbs of which the perfect functions as present, sc. those which later constituted the *hi*-conjugation, could not thus differentiate between present and past time, and consequently adopted the *s-aorist* for that purpose. In the course of time, however, as clear formal differences developed between the old perfect present or Hitt. *hi*-present and the historical perfect which was absorbed into the Hitt. preterite tense, the *s*-preterite was no longer needed and fell into disuse,

except insofar as it contributed the *s*-forms to the composite Hitt. preterite of the *hi*-conjugation. The situation again reminds one of Germanic, where weak preterites, e. g. Goth. *wissa* Germ. *wusste* 'I knew', were needed to form a past tense for the preterite-presents, for in this instance too the perfect forms otherwise functioning as preterites were here preempted because of their strictly present use.

The personal endings of the *s*-forms do not cause any serious trouble. In the 2. sing. *-sta* the *-ta* is of course the IE *-tha* of the 2. sing. perfect, and the 2. pl. *-sten* contains the same *-ten* as the *mi*-verbs, which is itself due to a proportional analogy to the primary *-teni*, sc. *-si* (2 sing. pres.): *-s* (2. sing. pret.) = *-teni* (2. pl. pres.): *-ten* (2 pl. pret.). In the 3. sing. in *-s* we must of course assume the dropping of the personal ending *-t*, although a sound change of final *-st* to *-t* is not otherwise known. Although this is not an unreasonable assumption, it would be desirable to find confirmation of the sound change elsewhere.

The singular endings of the Hitt. preterite of *mi*-verbs are largely the normal IE secondary endings, which, since stem-formation of Hitt. presents and preterites are normally identical, argue that also the IE imperfect played a part in the development of the Hitt. preterite. The *-s* of the 2. sing. *daske-s* 'thou tookst', is that of the Skt. imperfect *á-da-dā-h*, 'thou gavest', and Gr. *ἐ-λβε-s* 'wert loosing', and the *-t* of the 3. sing. *daski-t* 'he took', is that of Skt. *á-da-dā-t* or Gr. *ἐλβε < \*ἐλβε-τ*. The first sing. in *-un* or *-nun* is based on the IE *-m* of e. g. Skt. *á-bhara-m* Gr. *ἐ-φερο-ν* 'bore', with various analogical formations under the influence of the numerous presents in *-nu*,<sup>18</sup> for which see Delaporte Gram. 62 f. Thus the original 1. sing. of *ar-nu*, 'bring up', was *\*ar-nu-n*, of *hatra*, 'write', *\*hatra-n*, but the latter was changed to *hatra-n-un* by analogy to the former, and ultimately this added *-un* returned to *\*ar-nu-n* to form *arnu-n-un*. On the other hand, e. g. *epp-un*, 'I took', added the *-un* of *\*arnu-n* not to the finished 1. sing., but to the root *ep(p)*-. The *-hun* of the first sing. of the *hi*-conjugation, e. g. *ne-hhun*, 'directed' is a contamination of *-hi* of the present and *-un* of the imperfect.

<sup>18</sup> So first Hrozný 156. Gray, Lang. 6. 230, thinks of a phonetic change of *-ōm* to *-un*, but there is no support for this as far as the vowels are concerned.

The 2. pl. of both conjugations was discussed above. The 1. pl. in *-wen* beside the present *-weni* is due to a similar analogy as *-ten* beside *-teni* in the 2. pl., and may be patterned directly after the latter, e. g. *harnik-wen*, 'we destroyed', beside *harnik-weni*, 'destroy' after the 2. pl. *harnik-ten* beside *harnik-teni*. After *u*, as may be expected, we find *-men*, e. g. *au-(m)men*, 'we saw'. This *-men* looks so much like the Greek *μεν* of both primary and secondary tenses, e. g. *δι-δο-μεν* and *ε-δι-δομεν* 'we give' and 'we gave', that it suggests the possibility of identity. If this is right the assumption of above analogy is not correct, for we can hardly push this process back to IE times, which cannot be proved to have had the presupposed primary ending *-meni*. However, the Gr. *-μεν* in place of the expected *\*-με* from the IE secondary *-me* is easily explained as receiving the added *-ν* by analogy to the *-ν* of the 1. pers. sing., e. g. *ε-φερο-μεν* after *ε-φερο-ν*, so that it is probable that the resemblance of Hitt. *-men* and Gr. *μεν* is accidental.

In the 2. and 3. pers. sing. Hittite, in addition to the old IE forms mentioned above, shows a variety of alternative forms which seem bewildering until we notice that there is a tendency of each verb to take the same ending in both persons of the preterite tense, so that forms characteristic of the 2. person go to the third and vice versa. Note e. g. the following forms which have both values: *i-ja-at* 'made', *u-it* 'came', *pe-e-hu-te-it* 'brought', *ep-ta* 'took', *es-ta*<sup>19</sup> 'was', *ku-en-ta* 'struck', *harnik-ta* 'destroyed', *mem-ista* 'said', *upp-esta* 'sent', *au-sta* 'saw'.

Since the provenance of all of these endings is not obscure in itself, and has already been discussed except in one instance, everything is explained if we can explain the above-mentioned tendency itself. I suggest the following as the most probable starting point.<sup>20</sup> During the time that IE *-tha* of the 2. sing. had not yet become *-ta*, its association with the 3. sing. in *-t* caused the latter to become *-ta*. Subsequently *-tha* also became

<sup>19</sup> In view of this general tendency there is no advantage in the assumption of Marstrand p. 93 and Friedrich p. 167 that e. g. *es-ta* is an imperfect spelling for *\*es-t*, all the less since forms like *da-s* (no. 4) seem to imply the dropping of final *-t* after *s*.

<sup>20</sup> That there are also other possibilities when conditions are as complex as in this instance, would appear to be self-evident.

-*ta* by phonetic change, and thus the starting point for above tendency came into existence. Why some verbs use -*ta* (both 2. and 3. person in origin) and others -*t* (an old 3. person) usually cannot be determined, except insofar as Forrer, ZDMG 76. 211, has shown that -*t* occurs after a vowel and -*ta* after a consonant, which has a tendency to equalize the length of these forms. It is also self-evident that -*sta* is necessarily confined to the *hi*-conjugation.

5. *The Medio-Passive Present.* The entire medio-passive system of Hittite and its connection with the IE has just been discussed by Sturtevant in Lang. 7. 242-251, where, largely after Hrozný, Actes du Premier Congrès International de Linguistes 155-164, he musters a number of forms not found in Delaporte and arranges them all in a table with three columns: 1) forms without -*ti* or -*ri*, 2) forms with -*ti*, 3) forms with -*ri*. His conclusion is that the chaotic Hitt. condition reflects the original state of affairs, for "it is difficult to see how so complicated and cumbrous a mechanism could develop out of anything resembling one of the IE medio-passive systems." On this foundation he builds up a theory that the medio-passive was not only of late nominal origin, but that it still resembled the noun-system at the end of the IH period. However, in the light of my introductory remarks the reasons will appear why it will be difficult to follow Professor Sturtevant in this respect. While it is quite possible that the medio-passive system as well as the entire IE verb system is ultimately of nominal origin (cf. Hirt, IF 17. 39, Idg. Gram. 5. 84), I am sure that such conclusions for as late a period as the one with which we are dealing cannot be deduced from the Hitt. system, that on the contrary its medio-passive can be shown to have developed from the IE medio-passive as ordinarily reconstructed, and that its complexity is due to competing analogical formations built upon the inherited forms. Furthermore, the fact that Hittite uses secondary middle endings in the present does not justify the conclusion that these endings were not associated with past time when Hittite separated from the IE, but the presumption is that the distinction between primary and secondary endings was wiped out in the same way as e. g. in the Latin medio-passive. A common cause to both languages was the loss of the augment and consequent loss of distinction between present and past in so many forms

of the present system, that also the other endings were used promiscuously before some of them disappeared because useless.

I first take up the forms without *-ti* or *-ri*, which represent the ordinary IE medio-passive, and are in fact as close to the latter as those of other IE languages. The third persons are direct descendants of the IE secondary forms, as first suggested by Hrozný, Spr. der Het. 156. The *-ta* of the singular is IE -*to* Gr. -*ro* Skt. -*ta*, cf. Hitt. *ar-ta* 'rises, stands' with Gr. *ἔρ-το* 'arose' and Skt. *ār-ta* 'rose'. In the plural Hitt. *-anta* is IE -*onto* if thematic, but else -*ntō* Gr. *aro* Skt. -*ata*, e. g. with Hitt. *es-anta* 'they sit' cf. Gr. *ἦ-ατο* (imperf.) 'they were sitting' = Skt. *ās-ata*. Also the 2. pl. is clear enough, and e. g. in Hitt. *iya-dduma* 'you are going, traveling' -*dum-* is the weak grade of IE -*dhuem* Skt. -*dhvam* e. g. in *ād-dhvam* 'you were sitting' (cf. Sturtevant, p. 245), while the final *-a* was carried over from the forms in *-anta* and *-ta*. It thus became characteristic of the Hitt. present medio-passive to end in *-a*, so that it was also carried over to the 1. sing. in *-ha*. Whatever was the stage in which the IE -*ai* of Skt. *ās-ē* 'I sit' entered Hittite, it was changed to *-a* after *-nta*, *-duma*, and, most of all, after *-ta* of the 3. sing., while the *h* here too, as in *-hi* of the 1. sing. active, was a hiatus-avoiding device and *-ha* thus arising was then transferred by analogy to consonant stems like *tapar-ha*<sup>21</sup> 'I govern'. The 2. sing. in *-ta*, e. g. *pakhas-ta*, is readily explained as a contamination of the two IE secondary endings, sc. -*so* of Gr. *ἐ-φίπε-ο* or Lat. *sequere* (\*-*sa* in Hitt.) and -*thēs* of Skt. *ā-di-thāh* (Hitt. \*-*tes*). Also in the 1. pl. contamination explains forms like *ar-wasta*, and Sturtevant was much nearer to the right interpretation when he assumed *-wasta* was a cross between -*uqs* and a middle ending -*uedha*. His objection (Lang. 7. 245) that for -*uedha* there is no convincing evidence is valid enough, but the principle holds good by substituting other forms as the basis of contamination. The IE ending for the first person pl.

<sup>21</sup> The fact that in the medio-passive *-h-* could occur only in the 1. pers. (*-ta* of the 3. sing. began with a consonant) may have been the deciding influence which brought it about that in the active of the *hi*-conjugation *-hi* establishes itself in the 1. sing. as opposed to the 3. pers. in *-i*, although, if the above stated theory of their origins is correct (no. 2), *-hi* and *-i* must have at one time been optional forms for both persons.

of course was *-medhi* or *-medhə*, as in Skt. *ās-mahi* or Gr. *ἤμεθα* < *\*ἤμεθα*. This yielded Hitt. *\*-meta*<sup>22</sup> (= Toch. *-mät*), and it was with this that Hitt. *-was* < IE *-uos*, after it had become pl. instead of dual, was contaminated to *-wasta*. To facilitate this contamination, there existed without doubt *m*-forms like *\*arnu-masta* from *u*-stems alongside of *ar-wasta* and the like, so that after *-mas* and *\*-meta* were contaminated to *\*-masta*, *-wasta* could easily follow. The only regular<sup>23</sup> form of Sturtevant's first column which is thus not readily explained on the basis of the regular IE forms is the alternative 3. sing. in *-a*, e. g. *es-a* 'sits', which arose by a proportional analogy in which the oldest of the *r*-endings plays the chief part:<sup>24</sup> *es-a*: *es-ari* = *\*es-ta*:<sup>25</sup> *es-tari*.

The Hitt. *-ti* forms of Sturtevant's second column apparently have nothing to do with the IE 3. sing. middle ending *-tai* of Gr. *ἴδω-ται*, nor should we on the basis of Hittite, isolate this *-tai*<sup>26</sup> as an originally significant independent element. Rather were the *ti*-forms analogical and due to a series of associations. The fact that they often occur with *-t* alongside of *-ti* suggests gradual accretion rather than old variants of the same element. The *-t* was added to the *a*-forms because of renewed confusion between primary and secondary endings (Hitt. medio-passive preterites generally end in *-t*, see no. 6), and then the *-i* was in turn added because of the association with the *-i* of all the corresponding active forms in *-i*. As an example, *-ta* of the 2. sing. first became *-tat*<sup>27</sup> through confusion with the past forms in *-tat*, as *ar-ta-t*,

<sup>22</sup> If we assume that Skt. *-madhi* comes from the former, we could explain Hitt. *\*-mata* as having received its final *-a* by analogy to *-nta* of the 3. pl., but this would not help the Greek, which points to IE *-medhə* by all means.

<sup>23</sup> The rare ending of the 3. sing. *waran(n)ni* 'burns' is not explained with certainty, but cf. note 40.

<sup>24</sup> See sub no. 7.

<sup>25</sup> An actually occurring form is *ar-ta*.

<sup>26</sup> Otherwise Sturtevant TAPA 60.31 f.

<sup>27</sup> In spite of Sturtevant, Lang. 7. 248, I consider it extremely hazardous even from an a priori standpoint to connect *-tat* in Hittite with IE *-tōd* of the imperative, for there are too many possibilities both phonetically and morphologically to make such an identification anything more than a mere guess. However, Sturtevant himself does not express himself as being certain.

then this form in turn became *ar-tati* after the corresponding actives in *-si* and *-ti*, as *arnu-si* or *ar-ti*. Similarly in the 1. pl. e. g. *es-uwastati* 'was seated' arose by confusion of the past form in *-wastat* with the present in *-wasta*, and then changing *-wastat* to *-wastati* through association with the 1. pl. active present in *-weni*, while the 3. sing. *lukka-tti*,<sup>28</sup> if it really is a verb form, arose by assimilating *luka-tta*<sup>28</sup> directly to the active present *-zi* < *-ti*.

6. *The Preterite of the Medio-Passive.* Its method of formation can be summarized in a few words. The forms of the simpler system are made by adding a *-t* to the complete present forms i. e. after the personal ending. Thus with the 1. sing. present *tapar-ha* cf. the preterite *es-hat*,<sup>29</sup> with the 2. sing. pres. *pa-hass-ta* cf. the pret. *es-tat*. Similarly beside the 3. sing. pres. *es-a* and *ar-ta* the pret. *es-at* and *ar-tat*. In the 2. pl. the pres. *iya-dduma* contrasts with the pret. *kis-dumat*, and in the 2. pl. the pres. *es-anta* stands beside the pret. *es-antat*. Sometimes these forms are extended by an *-i*, e. g. *es-hati* 1. sing., *ar-tati* 2. sing., *es-ati* and *kis-tati* 3. sing., *iya-wastati* 1. pl., *kis-antati* 3. pl. These formations differ from every other IE tense formation because the tense characteristic follows instead of preceding the personal ending, and this fact imperatively forces upon us the conclusion that this is a Hittite innovation, and is not, as Sturtevant assumes in the article cited above, a particularly old remnant of an "Indo-Hittite" formation which was lost everywhere else, nor can we see here, any more than in the present forms, in the *-ta*, *-t*, *-ti* old elements with separate existence with which the rest of the words were compounded. The real explanation of the preterite is surprisingly simple. The *-t* must have received its meaning from an older use by adaptation, and it can be naught but the *-t* of the 3. sing. secondary ending active. It was first transferred by analogy from the 3. sing. pret. act. to the 3. sing. pret. middle to mark the latter as past. Thus a way was found to distinguish between *es-a-t* pret. and *es-a* pres., or between *es-ta-t* and *\*es-ta* (as *ar-ta*) after such actives

<sup>28</sup> For the question whether these are nominal or verbal forms see Sommer, Bo. Stud. 7, 22-32, and Sturtevant p. 247.

<sup>29</sup> The form *es-hahat* with repeated *-ha*, alongside of *es-hat*, is apparently under the influence of the 1. sing. pres. in *-hahari*, as *es-hahari*, for which see note 34.

as *hatrai-t*, *arnu-t*, *ui-t* etc. From the 3. sing. the *-t* went to the 3. pl., e. g. from *es-ta-t* to *es-anta-t* beside the pres. *es-anta*, and then to the other forms, so that the *-t* became the real exponent of past time in the medio-passive.

To these forms in *-t* an *-i* was sometimes added through the influence of the corresponding present medio-passive *r*-forms, which all (see no. 7) ended in *-i*. Thus in the 1. sing. *es-hat-i* after *es-hari*, in the 2. sing. *ar-tat-i* after *\*ar-tari* (cf. *iya-ttari*), the 3. sing. *es-at-i* after *es-ari*, *kis-tat-i* after *\*kis-tari* (cf. *ar-tari*), the 3. pl. *kis-antat-i* after *\*kis-antari* (cf. *es-antari*). After one of these forms was once made, it assisted in bringing others after it. Thus the entire supposed primitiveness of the Hitt. preterite passive disappears,<sup>30</sup> and it also is seen to be a Hittite innovation built upon IE material.

7. *The r-Passive in Hittite.* It will be impossible here to discuss the entire history of the IE *r*-endings of the medio-passive, and yet the probable history of the Hitt. forms cannot be considered without indicating one's attitude to the question, whether, as e. g. Meillet BSL 32. 3-5 concludes, the entire *r*-sys-

<sup>30</sup> The free use made of the principle of analogy in explaining the building up of new systems on old ones needs no apology in the minds of those who have centered their attention on the processes of the living languages, and see how the complexity of our associative processes lies at the basis of all our speaking, whether we are correctly reproducing what others have said before, or whether we are committing blunders or making innovations. The only reason for mentioning the fact is the attitude of some scholars who are still under the influence of the generation of linguists who spoke of "false analogy" and imagined it was their duty to leave no stone unturned before resorting to such an explanation. I am not at all impressed e. g. by the list of mistakes in the application of the principles of analogy which is given by Hirt, Idg. Gram. 1, 122, for even granted that he is right in his attitude to every case discussed, that would mean no more than that it is possible to assume an analogy wrongly as much as to assume a sound change or ablaut grade that did not exist. Many will agree with the writer that the misuse of inventing special sound changes or special ablaut grades to account for single words (e. g. Gr. *νύξ* beside Lat. *nox*) is really much more to be warned against than the chances of not hitting upon the correct analogy when conditions are complex. I would add that when e. g. Kretschmer, Glotta 17. 238, 19. 203, complains about complex analogies assumed by the writer, he should be complaining about the complexity of the processes of language and of the human mind itself.



tem of Hittite is of IE age, and of common origin with the similar systems of Tocharian, Italic, and Celtic, or whether, as Brugmann, Gr.<sup>2</sup> 2. 3. 659 f.,<sup>31</sup> thought, the IE had only the one *r*-form of the third singular, and that the others were patterned after this during the separate existence of the individual languages. I would say that in spite of the fact that Hittite has nearly a complete paradigm of *r*-forms, yet a closer inspection of these forms speaks for the second alternative, for the characteristic *-ri* is in every case detachable, i. e. forms without *-ri* but otherwise identical exist alongside of those with it.<sup>32</sup> This would indicate that most of these forms were secondary and analogical.<sup>33</sup> In the 1. sing. cf. *lapar-ha* and *iya-hha-ri*,<sup>34</sup> in the 2. sing. *pahhas-ta* and *iya-tta-ri*, in the 3. sing. *ar-ta* = *ar-ta-ri* and *es-a* = *es-a-ri*, in the 2. pl. cf. *iya-dduma* and *sarkaliya-tuma-ri*, and in the 3. pl. *es-anta* = *es-anta-ri*. It seems, therefore, that the IE 3. sing. without *-t-* is the starting point, the form found e. g. in a volitive sense in the 3. sing. imperative *es-arū* 'he shall be seated', in the Tocharian imperative middle 2. sing., as *p-kām-ār* 'carry' (Schulze-Sieg-Siegling, Toch. Gram. 336), but as impersonal 3. sing. subjunctive in Osc. *sakrafīr* 'let there be consecration', Umbr. *ier* 'itum sit', Ir. *canar* 'there shall be singing'. In Hitt. forms like *es-ari* 'he is sitting' there is no trace of volitive meaning, for they function as indicatives, and yet their original formal identity with the volitive<sup>35</sup> forms is clear. Leaving the pre-Hittite semantic development to be discussed by those who treat the *r*-endings from the IE point of view,<sup>36</sup> I wish merely to call attention to the fact that the Hitt. forms in *-aru* and *ari* are an IE inheritance, and that the original

<sup>31</sup> Cf. ib. 583 ff. for the literature of the subject, also Miss Clafin, AJP 48. 157 ff., Lang. 5. 232 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. e. g. Sturtevant p. 246.

<sup>33</sup> Also Tocharian has endings without *r* beside *r*-endings. However, here they were redistributed so that the *r*-endings are found in the present, and those without it in the past tenses. Cf. Schulze-Sieg-Siegling, Toch. Gram. 325 ff.

<sup>34</sup> The longer ending *-hahari* with repeated *-ha*, e. g. in *es-hahari*, is due to adding *-hari* to the finished equivalent form in *-ha*.

<sup>35</sup> Also Irish knows these forms as indicatives, e. g. conjunct *-berar* *-berr* absolute *berair*, cf. Brugmann 664.

<sup>36</sup> A clear presentation of the probable development in Buck, op. cit. 178.

final vowel *-a* < IE *-o* became *-i* by association with the corresponding active in IE *-ti* Hitt. *zi* as in *as-zi* 'is', and *-u* by the influence of active imperatives in *-tu*, while the *ar* may represent IE *r*.<sup>37</sup> From this 3. sing. of the type *esa-ri* the *-ri* spread first to the *t*-form of the same person, e. g. to *es-ta-ri* beside *es-ta*, from here to the 3. pl., e. g. to *es-anta-ri* beside *es-anta*, and then to the other forms. That in the third person sing. the proposition *estari*; *esta* = *esari*: *esa* gave rise to the last form, was mentioned above.

8. *The Hittite Imperative.* The active imperatives are interpreted without difficulty, and their IE substratum is clear. The common imperative 2. sing. without personal ending, found e. g. in Lat. *ei i* 'go', Gr. *ἐξ-εἰ* 'go out', Lith. *ei-k* 'go', or in Lat. *tace* OHG *dage* 'be silent', is the ordinary Hitt. form, cf. e. g. *ep* 'take', *es* 'be', *harnik* 'destroy', *daski* 'take', *da* 'take'. Occasionally we find a 2. sing. imperative in *-t* in the *mi*-conjugation, e. g. *arnu-t* 'bring up'. This Friedrich p. 187 f. would explain as from the IE *-dhi* found in Skt. *i-hi* Gr. *ἰ-θι* 'go'. This explanation is clearly wrong because final *-i* is not known to drop anywhere in Hittite. The correct explanation is analogical. Since the imperative 2. pl. was an injunctive and consequently had the same form as the imperfect indicative without augment (cf. e. g. Gr. *φέρε-τε* Lat. *ferte* Skt. *bhára-ta* 'bear' < \*IE \**bhere-te* 'bear' or 'you were bearing'), it became possible to use as imperatives also other past indicatives which originally were not so used, and since Hitt. *arnu-t* was also a 2. sing. past indicative, it took upon itself secondarily the function of a 2. sing. imperative. This was the easier because in the 2. pl. the original identity of form of imperative and past indicative had been kept, inasmuch as all changes which affected the latter affected the former as well, and so we find *-ten* in both functions e. g. in *es-ten* 'be' or 'you were' and similarly *-sten* in some verbs of the *hi*-conjugation, e. g. *nai-sten* 'you directed' beside *dai-sten* imperative 'place'. In the third place certain imperatives of the 2. sing. in the *hi*-conjugation end in *-i*, e. g. *er-i* 'arrive', *pahs-i* 'protect'. Presumably this is the IE imperative in *-ei* which is found in Gr. Dor. *ἄεα* 'lead', Att. *πία* 'drink', and OLith. *vedi* 'lead'. Cf. Brugmann, Gr.<sup>2</sup> 2. 2. 3. 582.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. e. g. Marstrander 169.

The imperatives of the third persons are also clear. The pl. in *-andu* is the Skt. *-antu*, cf. e. g. Hitt. *as-andu* 'let them be': Skt. *s-antu*, or Hitt. *arnuw-andu* 'they shall bring' with Skt. *sunv-antu* 'they shall press'. With the Hitt. sing. in *-du*, e. g. *arnu-ddu*, cf. Skt. *-tu*, as *sunō-tu*. Only in a few forms in *u*<sup>38</sup> of the *hi*-conjugation does the 3. sing. show a special development, e. g. in *ar-u* 'he shall arrive'. These are the result of proportional analogy. Just as in the *mi*-conjugation (before *-ti* became *-zi*) an indicative 3. sing. in *-ti* corresponded to an imperative *-tu* (usually written *-du*), so in these *hi*-verbs an imperative in *-u* was created beside the indicative in *-i*, i. e. *-ti: -tu = -i: -u*.

By similar analogies it became possible to form imperatives by changing the *-i* of indicatives to *-u* also elsewhere, and this led to the creation of a series of medio-passive imperatives on the basis of indicatives in *-i*. Thus after the 1. sing. indic. *\*ar-hahari* (cf. *es-hahari*) was made the imperative (or voluntative) *ar-haharu*, in the 3. sing., *\*kis-tari* (cf. *ar-tari*) induced *kis-taru* (*es-aru* 3. sing. represents an old IE form, see no. 7), in the 3. pl. cf. the imperative *kisantaru* with the indic. *es-antari*. Of the other middle imperatives the 2. pl. like *es-tumat* is syncretistic again, and is another instance of using a past indicative as an imperative. The most obscure medio-passive imperative is the 2. sing. in *-hut*,<sup>39</sup> as *es-hut* 'be seated', *ar-hut* 'go'. The *-t*, it is true, might well have been brought in by an active imperative like *arnu-t*, and the *-u* seems connected somehow with the final *-u* of other medio-passive imperatives, but the *-h-* in the 2. person defies explanation. Finally, the occasional addition of *-i* to middle imperative forms, e. g. *seskia-hhuti* beside *es-hut*, *kiddumati* beside *es-tumat*, need occasion no surprise. It is due to the influence of indicatives in *-i* on the corresponding imperatives.

The residue of Hittite personal endings which have resisted explanation, sc. the voluntative in *-lu -la*, the 2. sing. imperative in *-hut*, the 3. sing. imperative in *-nu* beside a similar indi-

<sup>38</sup> This *-u* may be, as e. g. Hrozný p. 159 claims, ultimately a particle at the basis of also the Skt. forms in *-tu* and *-ntu*, but undoubtedly it was no longer felt as such and spread by analogy.

<sup>39</sup> Also the imperative 3. sing. *waranu* is obscure, but see note 40.

cative in *-ni*,<sup>40</sup> constitute as small a proportion of unexplained forms as those of Sanskrit, Greek, and other better known IE languages. These are not sufficient to raise the slightest doubt as to the validity of the main principles on which the preceding investigation was based. The Hitt. verb system is indeed built upon the IE system as we knew it before, and most of its peculiarities arose by the decay of the latter and building up by analogy new forms out of the old material. As far as the verb forms are concerned, Hittite is usually just one of the IE languages, and we have no more right to draw conclusions about the pre-Indo-European (Indo-Hittite) verb from its forms than from those of the other IE languages, for the IE verb had developed its essential characteristics before Hittite had separated.

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<sup>40</sup> To the last two forms it is possible to apply an explanation similar to the one offered by Persson, IF 2.253 ff., for the Sanskrit 1. sing. imperative active in *-āni*, as *bhārā-ni* 'let me bear'. In the 3. sing. pres. middle *wara-ni* 'burns' the *wara-* may be a form like *esa* (no. 5, 7), and *-ni* looks like the IE particle *\*ne* with its final *-e* changed to *-i* by assimilation to the *ri*-forms, e. g. *es-ari*, *ar-tari*. Whatever was the origin of this indicative, the imperative *waranu* was easily patterned after it according to the proportion: *waranu*: *warani* = *esaru*: *esari*.

## THE INSCRIBED *KERNOS* OF DUENOS.

[An abstract of this article is printed at the close.—Ed.]

There appeared recently the forty-first,<sup>1</sup> forty-second,<sup>2</sup> and forty-third<sup>3</sup> interpretations of the famous Duenos inscription—all published in the course of a year, 1926, which marks the forty-sixth from the date of its discovery in 1880. To no other ancient document of extent so inconsiderable has been granted such a distinction—a series of reëxaminations conducted at the rate of an average of about one per annum over a period of almost half a century.

It might well seem futile, even absurd, to prolong enquiry in this narrow field. The last word has surely been said. And this is undoubtedly true of the purely philological examinations to which the inscription has been submitted. But there is, as it happens, another avenue, and one little explored if at all, along which light may be sought. All published interpretations of the document have come from the hands of experts in linguistics. Yet, although this is the only early Latin inscription that has been found inscribed on pottery, the ceramic side of the question, in conjunction with the linguistic, has not yet been investigated. Clearly enough, the whole story cannot be told till the more purely archaeological side of the question has been subjected to examination. It may, *e. g.*, make a great difference

<sup>1</sup> E. Goldmann, *Die Duenos-Inschrift* (Indogermanische Bibliothek, III, 8), Heidelberg, 1926. This is a most exhaustive study of the inscription and everything pertaining thereto. Unhappily, few will accept the author's amazing conclusions. Inspired with the belief that it is the work of a magician, Goldmann attributes to the latter (pp. 151-170) all the intellectuality and subtlety of mind of which he is himself possessed. None the less the book is a veritable mine of information to which I am glad to express my indebtedness. Several of the works therein mentioned are not accessible to me.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Placé, *L'inscription de Duenos*. This small work was printed (seemingly privately) at Blois, in the department of Loir-et-Cher. I have been unable, in spite of repeated efforts, to gain access to a copy. Placé's version is the only one, I think, with which I am unfamiliar.

<sup>3</sup> R. G. Kent, *Language*, II, 1926, pp. 207-22. The vast bibliography of the Duenos inscription is assembled in Goldmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-18, 171-2, *et passim*, and in Kent, p. 207, notes 1-3. Some few additional items appear in *C.I.L.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 2, fasc. 2, 1931, p. 92, no. 4; but the reference here given to "Bayard, *Journal des savants*, 1927," is erroneous.

in our understanding of the text whether or not we come to regard as identical the writer and the potter who fashioned the bowl.<sup>4</sup> Of no small significance is also the problem of the use to which a vessel of this kind was put. The purpose of this paper is that of reëxamining the question from the ceramic point of view.

The study must needs begin in the potter's atelier. The so-called bowl of Duenos<sup>5</sup> (to use the traditional name) consists in fact of three small bowls, each "thrown" in a single piece on the potter's wheel and carefully smoothed and polished before the firing. The bowls were united to form a triple-vase by the expedient of pressing them into soft clay so that they came to form, as it were, the three extremities of an equilateral triangle. There is thus no communication between bowl and bowl. The clay which was employed by the potter contained iron-oxide, and the vessel was fired under "incomplete reduction" circumstances which have left it a dark brown in color.<sup>6</sup> That is, a restricted amount of oxygen was supplied to the kiln, and thus dark ferrous-oxide was produced in the clay by the concomitant chemical action. Likewise, a certain amount of the pure carbon of combustion penetrated the clay.<sup>7</sup>

The incised lines of various sorts that are found on many ancient ceramic wares which date from the Neolithic Period onward were almost invariably made prior to the firing of the vases. Still, the adding of such lines to the fired material would not be an utter impossibility. In this instance, however,

<sup>4</sup> Conway (*A.J.P.*, X, 1889, pp. 445 ff.), one of the earlier interpreters, assumes the identity of potter and inscriber; Kent (p. 215), among the most recent, doubts it. That a point of such obvious importance should have received only cursory notice is indeed strange. If the bowl was inscribed after it was put on the market, the inscription may well deal with anything earthly. If the potter added it, the presumption is—on the analogy of potters' inscriptions early and late—that it has to do with persons or things within the workshop itself.

<sup>5</sup> The bowl is reproduced by Dressel, *Ann. d. Inst.*, LII, 1880, pl. L; Jordan, *Hermes*, XVI, 1881, pl. facing p. 320; Egbert, *Lat. Inscriptions*,<sup>2</sup> 1923, p. 16. The best reproductions are found in Goldmanni, pls. I and II, figs. 1-4; transliteration, fig. 5.

<sup>6</sup> See Binns, *The Potter's Craft*<sup>2</sup>, 1922, p. 187; Richter, *Craft of Athenian Pottery*, 1923, pp. 29 ff. Cf. Binns and Fraser, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 1 ff. <sup>7</sup> See Walters, *Hist. of Anc. Pottery*, 1905, II, p. 301.

it is quite clear that the inscription was added beforehand, when the clay was in a relatively soft condition—perhaps what ceramists call "leather-hard"—from the following considerations:<sup>8</sup>

(1) The straight lines of such letters as I, T, M, and N are regularly narrower towards the extremities than in the middle, which indicates that the graphium was cutting into the clay at the middle of the stroke.

(2) The inscriber has met with no particular difficulty in fashioning the rounded letters, O, Q, and D. It is particularly to be noted that the S shows but a very slight tendency towards angularity, and that too at a time when the flowing-line S was not fully established.<sup>9</sup>

(3) There are no evident signs of the tool's slipping and scratching the surface accidentally,<sup>10</sup> as would be almost certain to happen if the writing-surface had been hard and smooth.

(4) The first row of letters is cut close to the rims of the bowls. If the inscription had been cut in the vase after firing, the engraver would surely have utilized the rims, wherever possible, as stops for his graphium. As it is, the long lines are cut down as far as the rims in only two or three instances.

(5) The inscription is crowded into the upper half of the field available. This seems to indicate, as will be observed later, that the bowl was never raised from the table during the process of inscribing. A soft condition of the clay is thus betokened. If the vase could have been freely handled at the time, we should undoubtedly find a much more even distribution of the text over the bowl's surface.

(6) There are several corrections and even almost complete erasures of letters in the document. You cannot make alterations of this kind on fired clay without the necessity of removing a section of the surface.

The evidence is thus overwhelmingly strong in favor of the view that the inscription was made in the clay while it was still

<sup>8</sup> Indeed this should be patent to anyone who attempts to inscribe the surface of buccero or similar wares. It calls for much effort to make a perceptible mark even with a sharp steel graving-tool.

<sup>9</sup> As shown in Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*<sup>3</sup>, 1898, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> The unusual length of the second I of the first line is due to its having been added as a correction. The same may be true of the first I of the last line.

soft. The bowl was thus still in the workshop of the potter. It follows that the maker of the inscription and the potter must be one and the same. It is impossible to conceive of a situation where a magician or a writer of imprecations, still less a lovesick swain—personages who have, from time to time, figured in this controversy—enters a pottery and meddles with a vase whose production requires such a degree of expertness and patience as that manifested in the workmanship of the Duenos bowl. Such a thing is “not done” in ceramic circles, ancient or modern, and had it been actually accomplished, the potter would have either scrapped the bowl or else would have rubbed out the inscription in short order.

A few scholars have busied themselves with speculations as to the use for which the vase of Duenos was intended. Comparetti's<sup>11</sup> extremely prosaic conjecture marked it as “un vaso da unguenti o cosmetici.” One of the most recent writers, Goldmann,<sup>12</sup> believes that the vessel was a “Rauchzaubergefäß,” and that its three cavities were used for the burning of some smoke-producing substance. He has not, of course, experimented with the theory practically. Kent<sup>13</sup> retains an open mind, but maintains that, “if we but knew . . . the purpose for which the vase was designed, we might interpret the inscription with some assurance.” In other words, he thinks that the function of the vessel and the inscription which it bears possess a definite relation one to the other. He follows Goldmann in the belief that,<sup>14</sup> “the triple nature of the vase, the fact that it must be turned upside-down to read the inscription, the retrograde character of the writing, all point to association with some form of magic . . . or to an execration.”

This may be regarded as a fair statement of the situation as it has appeared to a majority of philologists since Conway<sup>15</sup> first wrote about the inscription. Are there, however, any valid grounds for entertaining any longer the belief that each of these three elements points in the direction of magic? If there are not, it would seem that much of the energy that has been spent on attempts to interpret the document has been entirely mis-

<sup>11</sup> Comparetti, *Mus. Ital. Antich. Classica*, I, 1885, pp. 173 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Goldmann, pp. 49 f.

<sup>14</sup> Kent, *l. c.*

<sup>13</sup> Kent, p. 210.

<sup>15</sup> Conway, *A.J.P.*, X, 1889, pp. 445-59.



directed. Let us consider the claims of the three points of Kent, examining them in the reverse order.

A student of ancient pottery is unable to see any special significance in the retrograde nature of the script. There are hundreds of analogies that may be adduced from the practice of the potters who fashioned Attic red-figured ceramic wares. Retrograde inscriptions occur with great frequency on these vases, inscriptions perfectly innocent of any magical intent, at a date very much later indeed than the time when the practice of retrograde-writing had been abandoned in lapidary work. The same thing is true of rough-and-ready writing in Latin (and the Duenos inscription belongs to this class), as in the case of the Praenestine cooking inscription,<sup>16</sup> where both right and left directions are followed.

With regard to the upside-down position of the script, Kent<sup>17</sup> follows Bergk<sup>18</sup> in the conclusion that "the vase was to be buried with the mouth downward." But what evidence is there to show that it was purposely buried at all? There was discovered along with it other pottery of a similar technique, including a bowl of four compartments.<sup>19</sup> None of the vessels was inscribed but the Duenos bowl. For a much more obvious explanation of the position of the writing, we must return to the atelier, where we find involved a purely mechanical consideration. It would have been a ticklish matter to handle freely an awkwardly-shaped piece like the Duenos bowl while it was still unfired; and it was then that the inscription was executed. What is more or less evident is that the potter merely bent over his work while adding the inscription, choosing not even to invert the bowl, once the parts of it were assembled. This is virtually proved by the position of the lines. The first was added to the upper part of the bowl, close to the rims, and thus near to the eye of the inscriber. The other two rows of letters were set as close as possible to the first, so that the lowest row comes only half-way down the side of the vessel. This appears to be the only rational ground on which we may account for the presence of these phenomena.

<sup>16</sup> *C.I.L.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 560.

<sup>17</sup> Kent, p. 210.

<sup>18</sup> T. Bergk, *Opusc. Philol. Bergkiana*, I, 1884, p. 646.

<sup>19</sup> See Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

Moreover, there is nothing strange or unusual about the form of the so-called "bowl." It is extremely well known to students of the history of ceramics, being widely distributed in the ancient world and enjoying a certain degree of popularity for many centuries.<sup>20</sup> Although discovered most frequently in the Cyclades, it occurs in Crete and Cyprus, at Troy, Ialysus, Carthage, and in various parts of Greece, particularly Eleusis and Athens; in the late Hallstatt culture of the Rhenish Palatinate; in Japan, and even in modern Kabyle pottery. A number of specimens have been found in Italy itself.<sup>21</sup> There is good evidence to show that the type of vessel originated as early as the third millennium B. C., and it may be traced down to the time of Christ. Indeed, the Orthodox Greek Church still makes use of similar "bowls" in its offerings of first-fruits to the Lord.<sup>22</sup> The number of compartments varies greatly—all the way from two to two-score.<sup>23</sup> There is no apparent preference, in the series, for the triple-bowl—a fact which tends to disprove the belief that there is anything of magical import in the three compartments of the Duenos example.

<sup>20</sup> The literature dealing with this vessel, the *kernos*, is very extensive. The following are the most important treatments: Philios, *Arch. Eph.*, 1885, pp. 171 ff.; Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 271 ff.; Kourouniotes, *Arch. Eph.*, 1898, pp. 21 ff.; Bosanquet, *B.S.A.*, III, 1896-7, pp. 52 ff.; Dawkins, *ibid.*, X, 1903-4, pp. 220 ff.; Xanthoudides, *ibid.*, XII, 1905-6, pp. 9 ff.; Pernice, *Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1899, pp. 71 f.; Hauser, *Jahreshefte*, XII, 1909, p. 92; *Monumenti Antichi*, XX, 1910, pp. 46 ff.; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, 1923, I, p. 47; Dussaud, *Les civil. pré-hell.*, 1914, pp. 110, 356 ff.; Mayer, *Apulien*, pp. 114, 163 f.; Pagenstecher, *Calen. Reliefk.*, pp. 120 ff.; Dugas, *La céramique des Cyclades*, 1925, p. 29. The most complete handling of the subject is that of Couve in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. *Kernos*. The most recent treatment at length is found in the article of Chapouthier, *B.C.H.*, LII, 1928, pp. 293-323, particularly pp. 306 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Seven specimens are mentioned by E. Lattes as having been found in Italy (*Memor. d. reale Istit. Lomb. d. Scienze e Lett.*, XIX, 1893, p. 101. I have not seen this publication). Other examples, mainly unpublished, have been found since 1893.

<sup>22</sup> See Xanthoudides, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff. This scholar, recently deceased, possessed an extraordinary flair for associating ancient and modern Greek institutions. The article here cited is one of unusual interest and importance.

<sup>23</sup> For illustrations of kernoi with great numbers of *kotyliskoi* see *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, pl. XIII; *B.S.A.*, III, 1896-7, pl. IV.

There is no reason to doubt that the Greek name for this kind of utensil was *kerchnos* or *kernos*,<sup>24</sup> a term which is thus defined by Athenaeus: <sup>25</sup> ἀγγεῖον κεραμεῶν ἔχον ἐν αὐτῷ πολλοὺς κοτυλίσκους κεκολλημένους. The word πολλούς may here be taken to signify merely a plurality of bowls. Further evidence in explanation of the name is found in late writers and in inscriptions of the Classical period.<sup>26</sup> Much light has been thrown on the question of the place of kernoi in the ancient world by the labors of archaeologists throughout the last half-century. The vessels were an essential part of the paraphernalia employed in the worship of the great mother-goddesses; <sup>27</sup> they have been found in association with the cults of the Eleusinian goddesses, with Rhea Cybele, and the Cretan goddesses of agriculture, Dictynna or Britomartis. Examples of kernoi are known which were made of marble and of bronze as well as terra-cotta. In the various compartments were placed symbolic offerings of the first-fruits of the earth. In the Eleusinian processions, they were carried on the heads of certain of the priestesses, surmounted with candles or lamps.<sup>28</sup> Perforated covers for the bowls have occasionally been discovered.

There were also votive kernoi, many examples of which have been excavated in the vicinity of the Eleusinion at Athens. Sometimes, it may be, they were employed as vehicles for offerings to the dead; but the evidence for the support of this belief is slight. A theory is current in some quarters that, inasmuch as they present such a wide diversity of structure, while the appearance of some is extremely homely, many of our extant examples were never intended for sacred uses, but served the purpose merely of table-dishes.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Kerchnos* is the epigraphic form, *kernos* the literary.

<sup>25</sup> Athenaeus, XI, 476E.

<sup>26</sup> See especially *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, pp. 192 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Xanthoudides, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> See *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1895, p. 163; *Ath. Mitt.*, 1895, p. 231; *ibid.*, 1898, p. 295; Couve, *op. cit.*, p. 823, fig. 4267.

<sup>29</sup> As Couve, *op. cit.*, p. 825; Walters, *Hist. of Anc. Pottery*, 1905, I, p. 195; Robinson-Harcum-Iliffe, *Greek Vases at Toronto*, 1930, I, p. 264. The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology has recently acquired a kernos of unique type. It comes from Bomarzo near Viterbo and is similar in shape to the Duenos kernos, but possesses a handle and a spout that communicates with the mouths of the three compartments.

The Duenos kernos may or may not have belonged to this last category. We simply have no means of knowing the truth of the matter, and speculation along such a line would be utterly futile. We are justified only to the extent of asserting that it belongs to a class of vessels that were devoted to sacral uses. Beyond this point it is unsafe to journey.

From the negative side, however, we may say that there is no just cause for connecting the Duenos kernos, *qua* kernos, with any magical rites, still less with the business of imprecation. No one can think of denying that, in more than one of the sacred systems of antiquity, the line that divides magic from true religion is an exceedingly fine one. But in none of the numerous studies of the subject that have been made of recent years has it been hinted that the kernos ever transgresses its own boundary and steps over into the lower sphere. Of the hundreds of examples that have come to light in the lands washed by the Mediterranean; not a single example, so far as I have been able to discover, shows an inscription or a cryptic mark even, apart from this solitary specimen. The essentially innocent character of the Duenos bowl seems further to be emphasized by the fact that there was discovered along with it, as has already been observed, other pottery of a similar technique and even another kernos with four compartments.

In short, if the inscriber had wished to compose a curse on the surface of a vase, the choice of a kernos for his experiment could be regarded as in no way significant. From another point of view, an inscription found on a kernos is no more likely to turn out to be a magical incantation or a curse than if it occurred on an askos, a lekythos, or a loutrophoros.

Still another preliminary matter that is of extreme importance is a definite understanding of the word MED, "me" (one of the very few words in the inscription on whose interpretation there is unanimity of opinion among scholars), which occurs in the first and last lines. The earlier interpreters were consistent, generally speaking, in their application of it to the kernos alone. But the issue has been most unhappily confounded by a good many recent writers who render the text in such a way that the

See Iliffe, *Bull. Royal Ont. Mus. of Archaeol.*, X, May, 1931, pp. 5, 7, and 8 with fig.; *J.H.S.*, LI, 1931, pp. 169 ff., fig. 5.

first (and sometimes second) "me" must mean the bowl, the last the inscription. It is doubtful indeed whether the point in question and the accompanying confusion are observed by these authorities. But when one finds the translation, "he who sends me," or, "to whom he sends me," it is manifest that the kernos itself must be signified. Where we find in the same version, at the end, such a rendering as: "let no evil befall Duenos from me!" the inscription is surely in question. It is the curse, not the medium through which the curse is conveyed, that may prove damaging to the maker of the imprecation. One would therefore have to assume that the object denoted by the pronoun alters its identity in the space of two lines—which is sheer nonsense.

Here as elsewhere the student of ceramic history has recourse to comparison and analogy. There are scores of Greek and Roman vases extant bearing inscriptions which contain the word "me" as the object of some verb. In no instance, so far as I am aware, does the "me" signify aught but the vessel itself, except in the case of painted pottery where it may apply to a living being that appears in a decorative scene. As we are not concerned with such an exception here, we have every justification for concluding that the MED of the first and third lines of our inscription denotes the kernos itself. Any attempt that may be made to interpret otherwise than with this understanding must lead, apparently, in the way of error.

If then we assume that the potter himself added the inscription to the vase before it left the workshop; that there is nothing mysterious or of magical import about either the shape of the vessel or the nature of the writing; that the several occurrences of the word "me" in the text signify the bowl itself,—what may we naturally expect to find in the inscription? Probably things of no great importance; probably things relating only to the atelier; probably a jesting or serio-comic tone. This last we may conjecture through the aid of unnumbered analogies. From the days of the Greek epigram to the most recent bit of *vers libre*, the author who speaks through the lips of that which is inanimate employs what he deems to be an appropriate *tenuis ex-sanguisque sermo*. The ego of the creator is contracted to that of the creature.

Scholars have found great difficulty in assigning a date—even

an approximate one—to the inscription. Six authorities would place it in the fifth century; rather more in the fourth. A few favor a date in the sixth century or even the seventh; one only assigns it to a period as late as the third.<sup>80</sup> It is all dependent, to a great extent, on the nature of the several interpretations, and until the text is definitely established, fluctuations of this kind will continue. The final verdict will, I believe, decide in favor of a late rather than an early dating.

However this may be, it can scarcely be doubted that the inscription considerably antedates the beginnings of Roman literature. This fact, regarded in conjunction with what we know of the lowly status of the Roman craftsman, causes one to consider the inscription as something in the nature of a portent. It is amazing to find a potter of the time able to read and write. That he is not wholly illiterate lends a certain color to a conjecture of Comparetti<sup>81</sup> that he is an enterprising Greek working under Italian auspices. Conway<sup>82</sup> goes even further. Observing the forms of the letters as fashioned by the potter, he concludes that he was familiar with the Corinthian alphabet and may have been a workman from Corinth settled in Etruria. The details of the craftsmanship—the close attention to form and disregard for surface-coloring, likewise the technological processes employed—are all distinctively Etruscan. Though it was discovered between the Viminal and Quirinal hills, there is no certainty that the vessel was manufactured in Rome. On the whole, one feels that it is difficult to explain the phenomena of the inscription apart from the assumption that the maker, whoever he may have been, both possessed a knowledge of Latin and had tasted at least of the well of Greek tradition.

The surface of the kernos is almost perfectly preserved. Whatever uncertainties are encountered in the reading of the inscription arise from the execution of particular letters rather than from their state of preservation. The text runs as follows:

<sup>80</sup> The information relative to the matter of dating is collected by Goldmann, pp. 27-8, n. 2 to p. 27. Goldmann himself (p. 32) dates the inscription in the second half of the fifth century. We shall probably find, as our knowledge of early Latin inscriptions accumulates, that this is too early by a hundred years or thereabouts.

<sup>81</sup> Comparetti, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

<sup>82</sup> Conway, *op. cit.*, pp. 447 ff.

(First line)

IOVEISATDEIVOSQOIMEDMITATNEITEDENDOCOSMISVIRCOSIED

The reading here has been unquestioned except in the case of the fifth letter, which some have regarded as a mark of punctuation, others as an accidental stroke. There are good grounds, however, for retaining it as a genuine I.<sup>33</sup>

(Second line)

ASTEDNOISIOPEITOITESIAIPAKARIVOIS

There is no uncertainty here except as regards the K, but it seems impossible to substitute any other letter.

(Third line)

VENOSMEDFEKEDENMANOMEINOMD(?)ENOINEMEDMA(?)OSTATOD

The letters whose absence is indicated by interrogation marks give rise to the greatest trouble. The first is a correction in the text introduced after the combination DE had been written. Morphologically the letter comes closer to a Z than a V, though we have no example of the former in the text for purposes of comparison. The letter standing between A and O is very peculiar. It has been read, at different times, as N, A, and L; it might even be a D of unusually angular outline. Though all scholars, I believe, read ENMANO in the second quarter of the line, the second letter appears to be followed by the complex NV rather than by M. It may be observed, however, that this and two other doubtful letters—the K of line 1 and the eighth letter from the end of line 3, stand each, as it were, on the apex of a triangle, these apices falling on the connecting "necks" of clay between the three bowls. The writer may well have found unusual difficulties in inscribing his letters here. The point has not, I think, been observed before.

The text may now be examined in detail.

IOVEISATDEIVOSQOIMEDMITAT.

It would seem that the old "deity-abbreviation" interpretation of the first eight letters must finally be abandoned. Scho-

<sup>33</sup> It is convincingly defended by Goldmann, pp. 66 ff.

lars<sup>34</sup> have steadily inclined towards the view that we have here a verbal form. Is it *iūverit* or *iurat*; or can it be *veisat* (= *visat*) preceded by the interjection *io*? *Veisat* was first suggested by Pauli,<sup>35</sup> and he has been followed by Zuretti,<sup>36</sup> Zimmermann,<sup>37</sup> and Goldmann.<sup>38</sup> This is the sole reading that it seems possible to adopt without being at the same time under the necessity of explaining away troublesome features. According to Zimmermann's view, the god is entreated to look down, *mit strafendem Blick*, on the sender of the bowl. He adduces the analogy of the verb *animadvertere*, and cites the punitive idea, in ecclesiastical Latin, of the verb *visitare*,<sup>39</sup> the frequentative of *visere*. But it is very doubtful if *visere* can mean anything stronger in this relation than "come and look upon." Perhaps one might be justified in rendering, "keep an eye open for" So-and-so.

DEIVOS is most simply regarded as a nominative singular. The deity in question is surely Juppiter.

GOI MED MITAT=*qui me mittat*. The verb has been variously considered as subjunctive, future indicative, or present indicative. Kent, who favors the last, thus argues against the subjunctive:<sup>40</sup> "Why should *mitat* be a subjunctive? The only excuse would be that the relative clause is of a general nature. . . . I cannot convince myself that the clause is general." With this view I am inclined to agree.

I have for some time felt that the most likely key to the whole document lies in the proper understanding of the word *mitat*. It is a strange word to use if its meaning is "offers" or "dedicates," as it must be if its indirect object is either a god or certain gods. Likewise, if it be interpreted "sends," the recipient being a mortal, who is this receiver of the gift? It has

<sup>34</sup> The most notable exception is Kent (p. 212), who, however, introduces a curious compromise, reading the first six or eight letters of each line twice over with different meanings.

<sup>35</sup> Pauli, *Altitalische Studien*, I, 1883, p. 46.

<sup>36</sup> Zuretti, *Rivista di Filologia*, XVII, 1889, p. 63.

<sup>37</sup> Zimmermann, *Philologus*, N.F., XXVIII, 1917, pp. 472 ff. But he thinks that the *io* stands for *iom* = *eum*, the antecedent of *goi*. There is nothing improbable in this.

<sup>38</sup> Goldmann, p. 152.

<sup>39</sup> Whose use in this connection begins to appear in the Vulgate, as in *Exodus*, XX, 5.

<sup>40</sup> Kent, p. 212.



never been explained. In any case, why is not the verb *ducere* employed? The verb *mittere*, taken in the usual senses, simply does not fit any situation.

In view of the unusual difficulties attending the interpretation of MITAT, it is remarkable that no one has observed the possibilities which result from regarding this form as standing for a compound verb. The occurrence of the simple verb in place of the compound in Plautus and Terence and indeed in all periods of Latin literature—particularly in poetry—is too frequent to call for comment. In the potter's shop there was necessarily much handling of the wares, by the various assistants, between the time of the "throwing" on the wheel and the sale to the customer. It is not improbable that, in the workshop, the verb *mittere* came to be employed in a semi-technical sense, as many words have the habit of assuming in industrial-works all over the world. This ought to be *demittere* or *emittere*, "to drop," "to let fall."

Indeed, it is just possible that *demitat* is the proper reading here. If we take the final letter of MED twice over (as some epigraphists do with final consonants in the interpretation of early documents), we have D'MITAT. The omission of the E after D might be thus explained: as the Paenultima Law appears to have come into partial use at this time, the E might have been left out through careless pronunciation and, consequently, spelling. In cases of similar omissions elsewhere,<sup>41</sup> it has been contended that the pronunciation of the name of the letter, rather than of its phonetic value, is intended. If this claim is valid, it would, of course, account for the omission here. But, in any case, we have plenty of examples in Classical Latin of the use of *mittere* = *demittere*, sometimes of forcible manual action, sometimes of unintentional.<sup>42</sup>

I should therefore render the first half of the line somehow as

<sup>41</sup> As c representing the sound of the letter's name *ce*. Cf. Ernout, *Parler de Préneeste*, p. 17. The suggestion, while ingenious, need not be regarded too seriously. It is impossible to support the claim, as yet, with even partial proof.

<sup>42</sup> It is frequently used in the sense of "throwing" with such objects as *tela*, *pila*, *hastas*, *fulmina*, *retia*, etc. The meaning of "let fall" seems patent when it governs objects like *panem* (Phaedr., III, 2, 6), *cibos* (Ov., *Fasti*, VI, 310), *aquas* (*ibid.*, IV, 728), *rosas* (*ibid.*, V, 360).

follows: "May Juppiter keep an eye open for the man who drops me!" This I take to be a more or less covert allusion to some clumsy workman in the atelier.

I see no difficulty in the way of accepting the traditional interpretation of the remainder of the line—NEITEDENDO-COSMISVIRCOSIED=*ne in te comis virgo sit*. English and American scholars generally regard the Virgo as Proserpina.<sup>43</sup> I am quite persuaded, however, that Athena is meant. After about 400 B. C., the Athenian ceramic tradition is transferred almost *in toto* to Italy; so the probability is that we have to do here with ἡ Παρθένος of Athens. Furthermore, we know that Athena was a patron and protector of potters and their kilns.<sup>44</sup> The other virgin goddesses, Proserpina and Artemis, seem to have had no part or lot in the matter.

On this assumption, the latter part of the sentence will run: "May Athena not be propitious to you (who lets me fall)!"

#### ASTEDNOISIOPETO

Pauli<sup>45</sup> was the first to give a rational interpretation to the first half of the second line. His letter-division is: ASTED NOIS, IO PETO, and he renders: "*Er stehe uns bei, he, ich bitte!*" Though some scholars have questioned it, *asted nois* = *adstet nobis* seems perfectly sound philologically.<sup>46</sup> The repetition of *io* before *peto* is not unexpected. For the sake of preserving the antithesis, I should be in favor of regarding the subject of *asted* as Athena rather than Juppiter. "May she curse you,

<sup>43</sup> As Lindsay, Hempl, Miss Bennett, and Kent, who follow Conway. The argument presented by Conway (*op. cit.*, p. 453 f.) in favor of Proserpina is thoroughly sound, and my contention that the Virgo is Athena is not intended to run directly counter to it. I assume that the imprecatory formula, of the type preserved in the Greek inscriptions found at the temple of Demeter of Cnidos (see Newton, *Halicarnassus and Cnidus*, 1862, II, pp. 719 ff.), may have been well known in the workshop of Duenos, but that another Virgin Goddess, more familiar to the workmen, *qua* potters, is here introduced to suit the occasion.

<sup>44</sup> *Epigr. Homerica*, XIV, 2. In *I.G.*, I, *Suppl.*, no. 362, the potter Euphronius makes a special supplication to Athena Hygieia, though it may be that he here regards her in the light of a healer.

<sup>45</sup> Pauli, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>46</sup> The reading *nois* or *noisi* = *nobis* has been repeatedly defended by philologists from the time of Bréal (*Rev. Arch.*, VII, 1882, p. 82) to that of Goldmann (p. 152).

but bless us!" is the burden of the prayer. By "us" is meant, naturally enough, the bowl itself and others made for the same firing by the potter whom we may tentatively call Duenos.

### TESIAIPAKARIVOIS

The division of the second line at this point does violence to the usual reading "Ops Toitesia," regarding which Pauli has aptly remarked: <sup>47</sup> "*Um Phantasiegebilde, mit denen die Wissenschaft nicht operieren darf.*" The last three words of the line I distinguish (with Pauli) thus: I PAKARI VOIS. Preceding these we have I TESIA. That is, *I Tesia i! Pakari vois!*: "Off with you, Tesia; off with you! Be appeased!"

There are, to be sure, certain difficulties here. We should undoubtedly expect *ei*, not *i*, for the imperative of *eo*. But it is futile to postulate such a thing as an established spelling of Latin words at this period, or indeed for a long time afterwards; and Pauli long since drew attention to the fact that the writer of the inscription seems to waver between the monophthongal and diphthongal spelling. It is extremely tempting to accept *i* as the true reading in view of the possibilities attending the adoption of the complex *Tesia*, which has not hitherto been read except as a variant of *Tensia*.<sup>48</sup> Almost all scholars recognize a fluctuating rhotacism in the inscription. We may therefore regard the word as a later *Teria*, connected with the verb *tero*, to grind or break.<sup>49</sup> Now, in the Homeric Epigram addressed to the Samian potters, a declaration is made that, if they shall prove faithless, prayer will be made to the kiln-demons<sup>50</sup> "Shatter and Smash and Char and Crash and Crudebake," who will render their work useless. The firing of a kiln with successful issue involves an extremely delicate and subtle operation; and even the modern scientific ceramist not infrequently meets with such misfortunes that he feels his furnace is beset with malignant spirits. As it happens, the name of the first of

<sup>47</sup> Pauli, p. 23.

<sup>48</sup> By Hempl, *T.A.P.A.*, XXXIII, 1902, p. 150.

<sup>49</sup> The *r* of *tero* represents a genuine I.-Eur. *r* (cf. Walde, *Lat. Etymolog. Wörterbuch*<sup>2</sup>, 1910, s. v. *tero*. The third edition (1930—) is, as yet, incomplete); but apparently, in the era represented by the Duenos inscription, there was a decided uncertainty regarding the pronunciation of the intervocalic *r* and *s*.

<sup>50</sup> *Epigr. Homerica*, XIV, 9 f.

the gnomes mentioned above, Σύντροψ, is so closely allied etymologically with the proposed reading *Tesia* that it is difficult to believe that there is not some intentional connection between them. "Off with you, Smasher!" The appellative is, I think, transferred humorously in its application from the sinister power of the kiln to the afore-mentioned clumsy workman of the atelier.

VOIS is as likely to be a subjunctive, or rather optative,<sup>51</sup> as an indicative, and I follow Bréal<sup>52</sup> in regarding it as an early form of *velis*. By divorcing PAKARI completely from the preceding words, we avoid the usual difficulties that beset the situation.<sup>53</sup> *Pacari velis* is probably no more than a colloquialism signifying "Go easy!" or "Have a heart!"

#### DVENOSMEDFEKED

In the third line difficulties increase rather than diminish. All are agreed that MEDFEKED = *me fecit*, though it has been much debated whether *Duenos* is a proper name or an adjective. For a reason that will appear presently, I regard it as meaning simply "a good potter," the adjective expressing superior technical skill<sup>54</sup> rather than, as it is commonly explained, unusual moral worth.

Accepting without dissent the reading ENMANOMEINOM, we may consider the question of the two doubtful letters already noted in the last half of the line. It may as well be acknowledged that the letter that stands between D and E must needs be conjecturally restored, as it is impossible to identify it with confidence. Understanding it as a Z, the earlier scholars read *dze noine* = *die nono*.<sup>55</sup> This undoubtedly will make good sense

<sup>51</sup> Lindsay, *Lat. Language*, 1894, p. 515.

<sup>52</sup> Bréal, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>53</sup> *Pacare* first appears in the time of Cicero (Bücheler, *Rhein. Mus.*, XXXVI, 1881, p. 240); it is always transitive in literature (Grienberger, *Indog. Forsch.*, XVI, 1904, p. 30). In most versions of the *Duenos* inscription, an early, intransitive use of the verb has to be postulated.

<sup>54</sup> As used, e. g., by Sallust, *Cat.*, 60, 4, of an imperator, or by Cicero, *De Orat.*, I, II, of a poet. Similarly we have the *malus poeta* of Cic., *Pro Archia*, 25.

<sup>55</sup> As Dressel, Bücheler, Jordan, Ríng, Ceci, Maurenbrecher, Lindsay,

with a wide variety of contexts; but there is surely much weight in the observation of Conway:<sup>56</sup> "What is to be said of *noine* for *noune* and *dze* for *die* in Rome, not Bantia . . . *noin-* cannot possibly come from *noun-* or *nouen-* in Latin late or early."

More recent interpreters usually have adopted the reading V, which gives us DVENOI, an early dative of *Duenos*. The strongest objection that I see to this is that it is hard to conceive of the writer as being guilty of an initial error in setting down his own name, assuming of course that *Duenos* is a proper noun. However, the difficulty disappears entirely if we regard *Duenos*, as we have done, merely as an adjective.

With the second doubtful letter of the group the problem is even more knotty. Seemingly one can do no better than follow the majority of scholars in reading L. There is much to be said for Conway's view that the writer first inscribed a Corinthian L or lambda by mistake and later altered it to the Chalcidic form of the letter.<sup>57</sup> It may further be suggested that he was becoming weary with his task, and thus failed to excise the result of his blunder.

On the analogy of inscriptions of the Fibula Praenestina<sup>58</sup> type, one would expect a proper name in the dative to follow DVENOSMEDFEKED. But this we fail to discover in the text, unless possibly ENMANO may represent a dative of a nominative *Enmanus* (*Emmanus*)—which is far from likely. It is difficult also to persuade oneself that a supposed *en* = *in* with the accusative is here employed in the sense of "for" (*So-and-so*) or "as" (*a gift*). These appear more like late prepositional uses. I would suggest the word-division EN MANO, "See, I am (still) moist!" That is to say, the *kernos*—still, of course, the speaker—indicates thus its condition when the inscription was applied. It had been shapen, but the clay was still soft and unfired.

Pursuant to the interpretation adopted up to this point, we may divide the remainder of the line to read as follows: MEINOM DVEN OINE MED MALO(S) STATOD,—*minom*, *Duen'one*, *me (fac)*. *Malus stato!* I would translate: "Do you alone, good potter, make me smooth. Let the bad potter hold

and Lommatzsch. Comparetti and Zimmermann regarded *dze noine* = *die nullo*, i. e., "never." This is certainly far-fetched.

<sup>56</sup> Conway, p. 450. <sup>57</sup> Conway, p. 447 f. <sup>58</sup> *C.I.L.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 3; XIV, 4123.

off!" The line as a whole has a fine coherence. The bowl has been made by the same efficient workman (or such he is in his own eyes) who is writing the inscription; but it is still unfired and soft. The skilful artisan is therefore asked to finish his work by adding the final beautifying touches to the surface and later burnishing it. The clownish fellow who has been alluded to several times is requested to keep his hands off. The smoothing process would, in view of the complexity of form of the kernos, require unusual skill and care.

*Minus* is a rare adjective and is found only in the feminine in Latin literature.<sup>59</sup> We should perhaps expect *minom* or *menom* here, as the vowel seems to be short. However, the uncertainty of the writer regarding forms of this kind has already been indicated, and indeed he seems to have been perplexed about the proper spelling at this point. The E is a correction for some letter that has been erased; the I is regarded by some scholars as an unintentional mark.<sup>60</sup> The adjective *minus* is used by Plautus<sup>61</sup> of sheep that have lost their wool, and what the word thus suggests is singularly applicable to the surface of pottery that has not received its final touches at the hand of the maker. We cannot say with certainty whether the word "kernos" would have been current in the atelier in which the Duenos vase was fashioned; kernos itself has both masculine and neuter declensions; so the gender of MEINOM is destined to remain unknown.

If our understanding of this last line is, perchance, correct, DVEN is of course a vocative whose final *e* has been elided to avoid hiatus. It would, in any case, be lost in pronunciation, and if the writer is a Greek, for which supposition the cumulative evidence is, as we have seen, far from weak, he would almost

<sup>59</sup> Varro, *De Re Rustica*, II, 2, 6; Plautus, *Truc.*, 654; Paul. ex Fest., 122 (Müller); 87 (De Ponor). See further Walde, *op. cit.*, s. v. minus.

<sup>60</sup> It must also be remembered that several early—but carefully written and official—inscriptions read *ei* for a short vowel, as *inpeirator* in the Decree of Aemilius Paulus (*C.I.L.*, II, 5041) of 189 B. C. and especially the spellings *leiteras* and *seine*, with *ei* for short *i*, in the *Lex Acilia Repetundarum* (Girard, *Textes de Droit Romain*,<sup>4</sup> 1913, pp. 32 ff.) of 123/2 B. C. There is an echo of this here and there in the Ambrosian Palimpsest of Plautus, which belongs to the third or fourth century, as in the readings *curabeis* (*Merc.*, 526) and *ibeis* (*Cas.*, 92).

<sup>61</sup> Plautus, *Truc.*, 654.

certainly employ elision here on the analogy of the usage of his own tongue. That *unus* would represent an earlier *oinos* can be disputed by none.

There is no difficulty attending the supplying of *fac* (or *face*) in this third sentence of the last line. The *en mano* which intervenes is parenthetical in nature; hence the imperative comes into play quite smoothly, taken up from the *feked* of the first sentence of the line.

The last two words *malo(s) statod* drop felicitously into place with the preceding scheme of interpretation. Scholars who favor the *duenos* = *bonus* view have frequently sought to bring to light the apparent antithesis between this word and *malos*, but the *statod*, taken as governing one of the other words in the line, eventually proves a stumbling-block. The difficulty vanishes when *statod* is used absolutely, and regarded as holding its early sense of "stand motionless" or "don't come near."<sup>62</sup>

Text, version, and translation may now be presented thus:

IO VEISAT DEIVOS QOI MED MITAT NEI TED ENDO COSMIS VIRCO SIED  
ASTED NOIS IO PETO I TESIA I PAKARI VOIS  
DVENOS MED FEKED EN MANO MEINOM DVEN OINE MED MALO(S) STATOD.

io visat divus qui me (de)mittit. ne in te comis Virgo  
(Athena) sit.

adstet (Athena) nobis, io peto. i, Teria, i! pacari velis.

bonus (figulus) me fecit. en mano! minum, bon' une, me  
(fac). malus (figulus) stato!

"O, may the god (Juppiter) keep an eye open for the one  
who lets me fall! May the Maiden (Athena) show herself un-  
friendly to you (blunderer)!

May she (Athena) protect us (vases)! Off with you, Smasher;  
off with you! Have a heart!

A good (potter) made me. See, I am (still) moist! Do you  
alone, good (potter), make me smooth. Let the bad (potter)  
keep his distance!"

This interpretation, whatever its value may be, possesses at  
least the merit of presenting a version of the inscription which  
is unified in theme and consistent throughout.<sup>63</sup> If the investiga-

<sup>62</sup> It is used, I think, like the *sta ilico* of Terence, *Phormio*, 195.

<sup>63</sup> The little-noticed version of Fay (*A.J.P.*, XXX, 1909, pp. 121 ff.)  
is based on a clear understanding of the principles that underlie the

tion has at all followed in the right track, it becomes manifest that the famous document is not a love-charm or other incantation; it is not an imprecation, nor has it anything to do with the Novendial offering. It is concerned with the trivial rather than the serious matters of life, and the circumstances attending its origin may thus be visualized: In a certain atelier there arises a rivalry, friendly or otherwise, between two of the potters. One of them has had, perhaps, the ill-fortune to commit the unpardonable sin of the workshop—let fall and thus ruin a fine vase. Whereupon the other exultantly though slyly lampoons<sup>64</sup> him by having a new and unfinished kernos beg for protection from the clown, while it expresses every confidence in his rival.<sup>65</sup>

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[Since the discovery of the so-called Duenos Vase in 1880, more than twoscore interpretations of its inscription have appeared, each version differing, in matters of detail, from its predecessors. This paper discusses the ceramic peculiarities and affiliations of the vase, and the new interpretation which is presented is based on a consideration of certain phenomena not hitherto observed.]

problem at hand. Its fallacy is the assumption that each of the three lines of the inscription is to be connected with one or other of the three compartments of the kernos. If the potter had any such device in mind, he would undoubtedly have made the association more obvious to the reader of the script.

<sup>64</sup> As concerns rivalry among potters and vase painters, compare the slur cast at Euphronius by Euthymides in the inscription painted by the latter on his well-known amphora in Munich (No. 378; Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Die Griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 14): "Euphronius never made anything like this."

<sup>65</sup> The "personal" note of this version finds something of a parallel in an inscription on an Attic black-figured cylix (Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, I, 545): "I am Cephisophon's cup; if anyone breaks me, he shall pay a drachma. . . ."



## ON PLATO'S REPUBLIC X 597 B.

[This passage joined with others concerning the Ideas has generated two streams of interpretation: one, the Ideas are thoughts of God; the other, God and the Ideas are the same. Both interpretations are refuted; the passage is shown to be contradictory to Plato's doctrine as elsewhere expressed, and the contradiction is explained from the necessity of its context, the attack on the mimetic artist.]

The statement in Republic X 597 B: *ἣν φαῖμεν ἄν . . . θεὸν ἐργάσασθαι* has disturbed every careful reader of Plato, for nowhere else in the dialogues is there any intimation that God created the Ideas. It is very probable that this passage was considered even in antiquity as a justification for the interpretation of the Ideas as the thoughts of God. To interpret the ideas in this way was common at the time Alcinous wrote; and the doctrine was certainly much older.<sup>1</sup> Philo Judaeus says explicitly that God created the Ideal world to serve as a pattern for the phenomenal creation and that the Ideas are the thoughts of God.<sup>2</sup> But whether or not the passage of the Republic was used in this connection in antiquity, it has been so interpreted in recent times. Jowett and Campbell annotate *ἐν τῇ φύσει* as follows: "In this passage Plato distinguishes the picture of the bed, the bed made by the carpenter, and the real bed which is ideal, essential, in the nature of things, in the mind of God." Constantin Ritter, in his latest book, has attempted to reconcile the relationship between God and the Ideas as expressed in this passage with that described in the Timaeus. He writes:<sup>3</sup> "die Ideen sind ihrem logischen Gehalt nach göttliche Gedanken, ein Theil des Inhalts von Gottes Denken; aber zugleich sind sie ihrem Bestand nach als Bildungsgesetze göttliche Kräfte, ein Theil der Bestimmtheit von Gottes Schaffen." The passage has influenced J. A. Stewart's interpretation of the Doctrine of Ideas also, and he seems to feel that he has successfully explained Stallbaum's objection, that in Timaeus 52 A the Ideas are called *ἀγέννητοι* though in

<sup>1</sup> Chap. 9: *εἶναι γὰρ τὰς ἰδέας νοήσεις θεοῦ αἰώνιους τε καὶ ἀποτελεῖς. ὅτι δὲ εἶσιν αἱ ἰδέαι καὶ οὕτω παραμυθοῦνται.* For a discussion of the origin of the doctrine cf. R. M. Jones in *Class. Phil.* XXI, pp. 317-26.

<sup>2</sup> Philo Judaeus, *De Opificio Mundi*, chap. 16; *ibid.*, chap. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Kerngedanken der Platonischen Philosophie*, p. 321.

the Republic they are said to be the handiwork of God, by the remark: <sup>4</sup> "The Timaeus presents the Ideas as elements in the Eternal Nature of God, integral parts of his σοφία while the Republic lays stress on the point that the Divine Nature is *Causa sui*. The *idéai*, we are to understand, are not *arbitrary* products of God's Will: they are in accordance with his eternal Wisdom."

Stewart does not take the trouble to cite the passage in the Timaeus which presents the Ideas as 'integral parts of God's σοφία'; wherever in the Timaeus the Ideas are mentioned <sup>5</sup> they are spoken of in the language of pure and independent Being, as the pattern according to which God fashioned the phenomenal world, and nowhere in all the writings of Plato beside this one passage of the Republic do they bear any other relationship to God. When Stewart says that the Republic 'lays stress on the point that the Divine Nature is *causa sui*,' it is clear that it is this passage of the Republic which has caused him to read into the Timaeus a doctrine which is not there, and, although Stewart is pleased to call the Idea 'a law, a rule, a need to be met in a definite way' <sup>6</sup> rather than 'a thought of God', his doctrine that the Ideas are 'integral parts of God's σοφία' amounts to the same thing as the straightforward statement of Jowett and Campbell. As for Ritter's belief that the Ideas in respect of their logical content are thoughts of God, it suffices to point out that only from this passage of the Republic could one get such a notion and that this passage is completely unconcerned with logical problems, does not intimate that the Ideas are to be considered differently from the aspect of content and from the aspect of existence, and is merely meant to convict once for all the mimetic arts.

Beside the negative proof <sup>7</sup> that Plato nowhere intimates that

<sup>4</sup> J. A. Stewart: Plato's Doctrine of Ideas, p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Timaeus 30 C-31 B, 37 C-D, 48 E-49 A, 51 B-52 D. Cf. also Phaedrus 247 D: οὐχ ἢ γένεσις πρόσεστιν. Phil. 58 A: τὸ κατὰ ταῦτόν δὲ πεφυκός. Also Phaedo 78 D.

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Stewart, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also Parm. 132 B-C where it is explicitly denied that the ideas may be νοήματα ἐν ψυχαῖς. Although this is said of human minds, the passage at least implies that the arguments would hold for all ψυχαί, that of God included. Cf. A. E. Taylor, Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, XVI, N. S., page 272.

the Ideas may be thoughts of God and that he constantly speaks of them in the *Timaeus* as the eternal patterns to which God looked in creating the world, there is an explicit reason why he could not have held that they were 'in God's mind' or in any way coincident with a part of the Divine Entity. At *Timaeus* 52 C he says that the paradoxical nature of space makes us incapable of understanding that, while an 'image' must be *in* something other than itself because it is not the pattern of itself, for the same reason that which has a real and unique nature of its own—i. e. an Idea—cannot exist *in* anything other than itself, for, if it did, it would be at once one and two.<sup>8</sup>

It is, consequently, certain that we must not attribute to Plato the doctrine that the Ideas were thoughts of God, in the belief that we may thus reconcile the *Republic* passage with the theory of Ideas as elsewhere expressed.

But, while it is impossible that the Ideas should be in God's mind or a part of God, the statement of *Timaeus* 52 C would not prevent us from attempting to solve the difficulty by considering God and the Ideas as really One and saying that Plato used the theological term and the metaphysical at different times to express the same thing, choosing his language in accordance with his mood and the object of his argument. This is the theory adopted by certain critics, notably Zeller and Adam. Zeller<sup>9</sup> at first treats the passage of the *Republic* cavalierly, saying that we must not consider it a philosophic explanation of the Origin of the Ideas, but later shows his real belief in the words "(Weiter ist zu erwägen) . . . daß anderntheils Gott unserem Philosophen auch wieder mit der höchsten Idee zusammenfließt." Adam's attitude is displayed in his note on 597 E: "*τρίτος τις κτλ.* :—when he tells us that God constructs the Idea of *Bed*, he means that the Idea of Good is the source of that Idea, and the Idea of Good is King of the Ideal World"; and on 597 B he writes: "If God and the Idea of Good are the same, Plato is merely saying in theological language what he formerly said in philosophical when he derived the *οὐσία* of all other ideas

<sup>8</sup> Of course, the phrase *ἐν τῇ φύσει* at *Rep.* 597 B is merely equivalent to *δυνάτω* and so is not obnoxious to the same objection to which *ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ψυχῇ* would be.

<sup>9</sup> *Die Philosophie der Griechen* IV<sup>te</sup> Auf. II<sup>ter</sup> Theil Iste Abt. S. 666.

from the Idea of Good."<sup>10</sup> The attempt to equate God and the Ideas must be at least as old as the variant *ποιητοῦ* for *νοητοῦ* at the end of the *Timaeus*, and that variant goes back to Stobaeus. Archer-Hind in his edition printed *ποιητοῦ*, and Constantin Ritter<sup>11</sup> gets the same result by understanding *θεοῦ* with *νοητοῦ* and translating "das sinnliche Abbild des bloß in Gedanken vorstellbaren Gottes," although everywhere in the *Timaeus* the world is spoken of as the image of the *αὐτοζῶν*.<sup>12</sup> However this equation has generally taken the form represented by Adam's explanation; 'God' and 'Idea of Good' are two names for the highest Idea from which are derived all the other Ideas and ultimately also the phenomenal world. In the light of this belief, our passage is interpreted as meaning that the Idea of *Be* is caused by the Idea of Good or derived from it.

This explanation, then, depends on the validity of two separate interpretations, the derivation of the Ideas from one supreme Idea, the Idea of Good, and the use of God and Idea of Good as equivalent terms. The first theory is based upon Republic 505-511 where Socrates describes the Idea of Good by means of the simile of the sun and especially 509 B where the Good is said to be the cause of the presence of Existence and Being in the objects of knowledge although the Good itself is not Being but 'beyond Being in age and power.' Since the very purpose of the hypostatized Ideas is the creation of an objective reference of judgment, the formal cause of every object and characteristic is the corresponding Idea. So beautiful things are beautiful because of the Idea of Beauty and good things good because of the Idea of Good. Also among the Ideas themselves there is communication, so that if you desire to call the Idea of Beauty good, you must say that it is so by reason of communication in the Idea of Good; but conversely the Idea of Good is beautiful only through participation in the Idea of Beauty.<sup>13</sup> To Plato the Idea of Good was the cause of the

<sup>10</sup> J. A. Adam: *The Republic of Plato*, Book VII, Append. III, p. 172: "The Idea of Good is the principle from which the other ideas derive their existence, etc."

<sup>11</sup> Op. cit., p. 234.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. A. E. Taylor's *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, p. 646.

<sup>13</sup> Rep. 476 A, Soph. 253 D, 254 B-C, cf. Theaet. 197 D where the birds in the aviary are the ideas which communicate with other ideas: *μύνας διὰ πασῶν ὅπῃ ἂν τύχῃσι πεπομένας*.

cosmos only in the sense of the *Timaeus* where God is said to have created the world impelled by His goodness. And so, in a manner of speaking, the Idea of Good is above Being, because in this sense good things *exist* as good by reason of participation in that Idea. In describing the Idea of Good, Plato has in mind the training of the guardians and so is particularly concerned that they should come to know the source of all ethical action. Consequently, he is right in stressing the dignity and importance of the Idea of Good, for that is the cause of all purpose in the Universe, just as he is justified in allowing the Idea of Beauty to monopolize his attention in the *Symposium*.<sup>14</sup> But in the tenth book his purpose is different; there is here no hint of the derivation of one Idea from another, but rather the implication that God made all the Ideas just as he made the Idea of Bed. However, if the usual teaching of the dialogues be applied, Plato would certainly say that the Good is the cause not of the Idea of Bed but of the element of moral purpose—if there be any—in that Idea.

So, even if God be the Idea of Good, we cannot accept the theory that this reconciles our passage with Platonic doctrine. But this second half of the explanation is even less valid than the first. In the *Timaeus* where both God and the Ideas appear, the former uses the latter as a pattern in fashioning the world; in the description of the Idea of Good<sup>15</sup> God is not mentioned, and usually the Ideas are introduced without God. In the *Parmenides*<sup>16</sup> it is objected to the theory of Ideas that it provides for no connection between the real and phenomenal world, which amounts to the complaint of Aristotle that the theory of Ideas does not provide an efficient cause. If it were true that Plato equated God with any one of the Ideas or with the Ideal World, this objection would be valid. But from the *Parmenides* it is obvious that he was aware of the difficulty, and it is just this function that the God of the *Timaeus* fulfills. He is the efficient cause which applies the Ideas to the matrix of space and so produces phenomena; this form of causality appears again in the *Sophist*<sup>17</sup> as God, and in the *Philebus*,<sup>18</sup> stripped

<sup>14</sup> *Symp.* 210 A-211 E.

<sup>15</sup> *Rep.*, 505-11.

<sup>16</sup> *Parm.*, 133 C-134 E.

<sup>17</sup> *Soph.*, 265 B-C.

<sup>18</sup> *Phil.* 23 C-D and again 26 E.

of metaphorical language, it is called the cause of the combination of the *ἄπειρον* and the *πέρας*, while in the tenth book of the *Laws* it is the divine soul which moves the heavens and all that the heavens contain.<sup>19</sup> If Plato frequently talks of the Ideas without mention of God it is because he is not always concerned to describe his entire metaphysical machinery. The description of the Idea of Good in the *Republic*, like Diotima's speech in the *Symposium*, is psychagogic in purpose, and for this reason the Ideas are treated as goals toward which to strive; the fact of their relationship with the phenomenal world is explained but not the cause of that relationship; still we have no right to suppose that, since the efficient cause is not explicitly described as different from the Ideas in these passages, Plato meant to identify God and the Idea of Good.

So, in the attempt to reconcile our passage with the doctrine of Ideas, scholars have, on the one hand, degraded the Ideas to concepts or thoughts of God and on the other have robbed the Platonic metaphysics of its efficient cause by merging God with the Ideal World or with one supreme Idea. Either course not only can find no support of evidence in Plato's writings but is flatly contradicted by explicit passages in the dialogues. It were better then to treat this one passage which is at odds with all others in the fashion of Pansch who says,<sup>20</sup> "Occurrit, ut videtur, quasi ex improviso Platoni Deum Idearum auctorem appellare." Zeller, too, just before betraying his true explanation and identifying God with the "höchste Idee,"<sup>21</sup> argues that the troublesome phrase does not mean that God made the Idea of Bed but is merely a popular way of saying that man did *not* make it. Zeller supports his point by the fact that Aristotle speaks of God as a *Maker*,<sup>22</sup> although elsewhere he denies that the Divinity is the Creator in the usual sense. But in such passages Aristotle uses the vulgar terminology in a casual way in no close connection with his argument, whereas in our passage

<sup>19</sup> *Laws* 891-99 and for the Ideas, *Laws* 965 B-966 A. Cf. 965 C: τὸ πρὸς μίαν ἰδέαν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀνομοίων δυνατόν εἶναι βλέπειν with *Phaedrus* 249 B-C: ἐκ πολλῶν ἰδὲν αἰσθήσεων εἰς ἓν λογισμῷ συναρπύμενον. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἀνάμνησις κτλ.

<sup>20</sup> Pansch: *De Deo Platonis*, p. 45 (quoted by Adam on *Rep.* 597 B).

<sup>21</sup> Zeller, loc. cit.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. esp. *De Caelo* I 4 and Zeller's references loc. cit.

Plato introduces the suggestion as a question and affirms it with a forceful answer. Consequently, even though the phraseology is merely popular, and even though an interlocutor might be expected to understand it in this popular sense, it is inconceivable that Plato should have been unaware that the statement directly contradicts all the rest of his writings, and he certainly must have instinctively felt it to be inconsistent with his attitude toward the Divinity as well as toward the Ideas.<sup>23</sup> But if we admit that the contradiction was evident to him—and we should be setting up a dangerous canon of criticism in supposing that the author of any text was unaware of the meaning of his words—it follows necessarily that it was wilfully set down. Our business is not to twist the meaning of this passage to fit the words of the *Timaeus* or to misinterpret the other statements of the Theory of Ideas to make a place for this passage, but to admit the contradiction and to try to understand the purpose for which Plato introduced it.

The purpose of the first part of the tenth book is the final conviction of the mimetic arts, and the first stage in this conviction is the proof that the object of that art is twice removed from Truth as the artist is twice removed from the King of the World. Adam recognized that Plato chose examples of artificial rather than natural objects for this formal reason, that "if he had chosen a mountain, it would have been difficult to specify the middle term."<sup>24</sup> But there would have been the greater embarrassment of admitting that in creating the mountain God would have been copying an Idea and so would have been in the same rank as the carpenter. The result would have been the relative exaltation of the mimetic artist at the expense of God, for not only would God have become an imitator also, but the creation of the poet and painter would be a direct imitation of the handiwork of God. This is avoided by the choice of an artificial object for the example used; but the choice of example alone was not enough to accomplish the desired result. God must in no way be obnoxious to the charge which is brought

<sup>23</sup> Plato's acumen was capable of laying bare even the difficulty inherent in the doctrine that God looks on the Ideas as a model for the creation of the world. Cf. *Parmenides* 134 D-E, and *Sophist* 248 D-249 D where the paradox of an *eternal intelligence* or of *pure Being* which is at the same time *active* is discussed.

<sup>24</sup> Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

against the poet; and at the same time God must be brought into the schematic classification for the sake of symmetry. For if the painted bed is twice removed from the Truth which is the Idea, the painter must be twice removed from a Being which stands to the carpenter as the carpenter to the painter; this Being must be God; but as the painter is second from the King by reason of the removal of his work from the Idea, the King must stand in some relationship to that Idea. He must not be an imitator of it or the whole scheme collapses; there is nothing to do but make Him Creator of the Idea as the carpenter is the creator of the bed. If it be objected that Plato would not have contradicted his own doctrine of God's relationship to the Ideas, or that, even if he had been willing to do so for the sake of the argument, he could not hope that his readers would fail to see the contradiction, I retort that it is not reasonable to suppose that Plato did not remember that an opponent could overthrow the entire classification by pointing out the painter's ability to imitate a natural object instead of an artificial one *or* the poet's ability to copy the Ideas of justice, beauty, and goodness just as a carpenter copies the Idea of Bed, and that despite the fragility of the scheme he thought it worth while elaborating. Here it is only because he desires to degrade the artist as an imitator that he so carefully avoids ascribing any imitative activity to God; but that he more naturally thought of the action of the efficient cause in the language of this metaphor we are assured not merely by the consistent terminology of the *Timaeus* but by another schematic classification in the *Sophist*<sup>25</sup> in which the concept of creation is divided into human and divine, and each of these sections is cut cross-wise to divide the art concerned with making objects and the art concerned with making imitations. This passage is of importance to us not only because it explicitly assigns an imitative function to God but because it implicitly denies that He created the Ideas, for the divisions are exhaustive and in the section devoted to the objects of Divine creation the examples given are plants, animals, minerals, fire, water, and the "cognate elements."

For those who may be shocked to find Plato willing to play

<sup>25</sup> *Soph.* 265 A-266 D.



perversely with the fundamental concepts of his metaphysics and the axioms of his faith it will be enlightening to glance at a passage in the *Theaetetus*<sup>26</sup> where he speaks of the ruin which will overtake those who do not observe that there are two patterns in the world of true reality, one of the Divinity and one of that which has nothing of the Divine in it. It would be as absurd to interpret this to mean that God and Godlessness were two Ideas in the Ideal World as to make God and the Idea of Good the same. This sentence uses the language of the Ideal theory, but it does not refer to the Ideas as a metaphysical doctrine. It is rather an extension of the metaphysical doctrine to what Professor Shorey has called "a realistic way of speaking of the universal," and the passage is parallel to the remark made in the *Republic*<sup>27</sup> about the ideal city: "Perhaps it is laid up as a model in heaven for him who desires to behold and found himself as a polity when he beholds it." In both these passages the Ideal World as a Whole rather than a single Idea is meant, and the "pattern of that which has nothing of the Divine in it" is a rhetorical way of speaking of the privation of this "heaven". So Plato could make poetical or rhetorical use of his most cherished and most serious beliefs.

Is the argument against the mimetic arts, then, merely skillful rhetoric, and does the fact that Plato never believed God to be the Creator of the Ideas vitiate his criticism of the poet and painter? I think that the argument is, on the contrary, sound; the opportunistic shiftings are, as usual, not connected with the argument but simply a method of forestalling impertinent objections which would require lengthy digressions to refute. It is certainly true that painter and poet are concerned most frequently with shadows of shadows; and to the contention that they can also fix their mental vision on the Ideas and draw on other souls to see that blessed valley Plato would have said that he was not banishing the poet-that-might-be but the poet-that-is and would have pointed to the conclusion of his criticism,<sup>28</sup> so soon as poetry can be proved useful to human life we shall admit it into our state but not before, for the stake is high, and it is not well to disregard justice for anything—even poetry.

<sup>26</sup> *Theaet.* 176 E.

<sup>27</sup> *Rep.* 592 B.

<sup>28</sup> *Rep.* 607 B-608 C.

## TWO NOTES ON PLAUTUS.

### 1. PARODY IN ACT V OF PLAUTUS' *Mercator*.

In his *Plautinische Forschungen*, second edition, p. 134, Leo remarks:<sup>1</sup> an ähplische Scenen der Tragödie erinnern stark z. B. die Wahnsinnsscenen in *Menächmen* und *Mercator* (Herkles, Alkmeon), der Abschied von der Heimat im *Mercator* 830 (Teukros). It is, of course, the *Mercator* that contains the closest resemblance to the mad scene of the *Hercules*. The strange thing here is that Plautus has what seem to be parodies of two different tragedies in one scene, and I wish to indicate the probability that he accepted one from his original and added the other himself.

When we remember that Ennius and probably Pacuvius were presenting rather turgid paraphrases of Euripides and Sophocles at the very festivals at which the irreverent Plautus was producing his comedies, we can hardly suppose that the latter would forego the pleasure of including parodies of some of the bolder scenes of his rival dramatists. We need not suppose for a moment that such action implied a knowledge of Greek *literature* on the part of the audience, and it would be dangerous to assume that any tragedy was ever parodied at Rome that had not recently appeared on the stage before the very crowds that saw the comedies. Indeed, I think it very likely that Plautus might make references not only to tragedies that had been presented at a previous festival but also to such as had been played only a day or two before; for the prologues of Terence<sup>2</sup> show that it was possible for a rival poet to get access to new plays already sold to the aediles and about to be presented at a rehearsal. If Luscius Lanuvinus could do that, probably Plautus could.

In the act under discussion I think that some of the lines were written by Plautus with reference to a recent production of Pacuvius' *Teucer*. Since the *Mercator* (l. 943) has a joke on some women of Zacynthus, it is likely that the play dates

<sup>1</sup> See also Sedgwick, *Class. Quart.*, 1927, p. 88, for Plautine parodies.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially that of the *Eumuchus*, ll. 20, 21:

postquam aediles emerunt  
perfecti (Luscius) sibi ut inspiciundi esset copia.

after 191 B. C., when Rome took over that island.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the fact that Plautus could assume in his audience a familiarity with a large number of places in the Aegean (*Mer.* 646-7) would imply that many of the soldiers and sailors who had served against Antiochus had returned and were present in the theater. I am therefore inclined to date the play about 189-8. At that time Pacuvius was already thirty-one or two years old, and may well have been producing tragedies. But, of course, we have no external evidence for the date of the *Teucer*.

The reader will recall that in the *Mercator* Charinus had purchased a slave girl at Rhodes and brought her home, that his father had seen her by chance, and had her sold to his own agent while Charinus was absent, and had had her removed to a neighbor's house. Charinus, in despair because he could find no trace of her, got ready to leave home to find consolation for his grief. Plautus, be it noted, does not here assume that Charinus goes abroad for the purpose of seeking her, for Charinus knows that she has been bought by an Athenian (l. 635). The dramatic purpose of scenes 1 and 2 of Act 5 is only to retard action for a while so that Charinus' father may have time to make peace with his wife, who has discovered his infidelity. Plautus usually needs only some twenty-five lines of dialogue for such off-stage matters, but in this instance he drags the scene out to 126 rather tiresome lines. The passage is not humorous enough, taken at face value, to excuse its length. The audience must have found some fun in it that we have been missing, and that fun probably lay in two separate bits of parody: the first part of it being cast so as to afford the actor a chance to travesty a scene of the *Teucer* of Pacuvius, the second part being made into a burlesque of the mad-scene

<sup>3</sup> Livy 36, 32. Sedgwick, *Class. Quart.*, 1930, 104 f., places the play early because lyrics are few in it. His criterion probably has some value, but it must not be made into a general rule. It should, for instance, not be applied to such serious sermonizing plays as the *Trinummus* and the *Captivi* where jolly cantica must not be too numerous. At times also Plautus may be writing for a troupe that does not specialize in song and dance. Fraenkel (*Plaut. im Pl.*, 198 f.) seems to be correct in dating this play after the *Rudens*. There is also a close connection in time between this play and the *Menaechmi*, which is certainly not early.

of the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides.<sup>4</sup> Of course, we cannot hope to discover all the points of the parody in the first part, since most of the *Teucer* is lost, but those that are discoverable seem to establish a close relationship.

Charinus begins his farewell at l. 830 in a paratragedic scene which is unusually full of fustian:

Limen superum inferumque, salve, simul autem vale, etc.

After twelve lines of this, his friend Eutyclus comes running in with the good news that he knows where the girl is. Charinus lays aside his sword and begs to be led to her. When Eutyclus refuses to comply at once (the parents must have time for the reconciliation) Charinus loses patience and dresses again for departure, taking his chlamys, his purse, his sword, and his bottle. And here he enters a strange scene of hallucinations, which we shall discuss presently.

That the first part of this tedious performance was plotted out with numerous reminders of the *Teucer* I think is plausible because of several coincidences with the few fragments of the *Teucer* that we happen to have. For instance, Teucer was exiled by his father; Charinus (l. 933), though without apparent justification, says *pater mihi exsilium parat*.<sup>5</sup> Charinus, as well as Teucer, goes to *Cyprus*; Calchas, the seer, was involved in the story of Teucer's misfortunes, and he is also referred to in this scene of the *Mercator* (l. 945); the *Bacchantes* are mentioned in both (*Teucer*, fr. 50, p. 154, Rib., and *Merc.* 469). Finally, there are in the *Mercator* scene peculiar likenesses to the long description of the storm which is assigned by all editors to the *Teucer* (Rib. p. 153, fr. 45). In the *Teucer* the Greek fleet had set out from Troy *occidente sole* (l. 411), in the *Mercator*,

<sup>4</sup> Legrand, *Daos*, p. 299, note 4, has also noticed the similarity: "Comme Charinus . . . l'Héraklès d'Euripide croit monter sur un char et il croit faire un voyage (Hér. main., 947 et suiv.)." The dissertation of O'Brien-Moore on *Madness in Ancient Literature* does not mention the scene of the *Mercator*.

<sup>5</sup> Charinus did not yet know that it was his father who had bought the girl. Hence the words *pater parat exsilium* seem to be spoken to conform to the *Teucer* rather than to fit the situation in the *Mercator*; furthermore Charinus presently says that he is departing, not for exile, but to find the girl—who, by the way, has just been reported as being in Athens (l. 635). Such inconsistencies may well be due to the exigencies of parody.

Charinus also sets out when *sol abit* (l. 873). Then Eutyches in seven lines (874-80), of what seems to commentators wholly misplaced allegory, says in effect: "Steer your ship hither out of the threatening storm,"

hic favonius serenust, istic auster imbricus . . .  
nubis ater imberque instat—aspicin—ad sinisteram, etc.

I cannot see anything but very heavy persiflage in these seven lines unless the actor is here parodying the tragic actor who had ranted through the storm passage of the *Teucer* (I doubt not that *aspicin—ad sinisteram* was meant to recall the gestures of the tragic actor). To be sure, the exact phraseology is not very similar, but neither Plautus nor the audience would remember the *ipsa verba* from a single performance. It would be enough if the matter and the actor's gestures in the *Mercator* were sufficiently suggestive of the performance of the *Teucer*.<sup>6</sup> That Plautus is the one who is responsible for the burlesque here I think plausible both because of the several inconsistencies in the words of Charinus and because Philemon would not be likely to travesty Sophocles.

The second part of the scene, where Charinus seems to have hallucinations, has puzzled scholars even more. Here Charinus pretends to mount his chariot to ride to Cyprus (a strange vehicle to use for a trip from Athens to Cyprus).

931 Ch. *Iam in currum escendi*, iam lora in manus cepi meas.  
Eut. Sanus non es. etc.

937 Ch. *iam Cyprum veni*.

939 Ch. *nunc perveni Chalcidem!* . . .

He does not find his *amica*, but there asks a friend from Zacynthus whether he knows where she is.

943 Ch. *Hospes respondit Zacynthi ficos fieri non malas*.

As I have said, scholars have noted the similarity between this scene in the *Mercator* and one in the *Hercules* of Euripides, and my colleague, Roger Jones, suggests that in the Plautine

<sup>6</sup> It will be recalled that the *Telamon* of Ennius had practically the same story as the *Teucer* of Pacuvius. Unfortunately the fragments of the *Telamon* are very few. If we had more, perhaps we should find more coincidences with that. It is therefore quite possible that the play of Ennius was in reality the one that was being travestied.

scene the word *ficos* is used in the same sense as σῦκον in Aristophanes *Pax* 1349. The lines in Euripides occur in the messenger's report of how Hercules slew his children, ll. 945 ff. Hercules raving in the palace imagines that he *sees a chariot*, mounts it to drive to Mycenae to attack Eurystheus, shouts that *he has reached Megara*, then that he has *arrived at the Isthmus*, then he drives on to Mycenae. Surely this fantastic vision is the source of the Plautine scene, and one hardly blames a writer of comedies if he found the scene fit stuff for fun. In Euripides it is, of course, a real hallucination, but what amusement is there in the incredible fancies of Charinus driving from Athens to Cyprus, then to Chalcis, unless it be parody?

But there is a serious difficulty in the fact that we do not know of any performance of the *Hercules* at Rome. Of course, we cannot be sure that there was none, for our references to the tragedies are very casual, but I should hardly suppose that Plautus would himself undertake to satirize two different tragic performances in one scene. It is more likely that the parody of the *Hercules* was invented by Philemon for his *Emporos*, the model of the *Mercator*; and this becomes the more likely when we see that *ficas* is used in a Greek sense (a loose slang expression for *amica*) which is not otherwise found in Latin.<sup>7</sup> I should not say that this is positive proof that Plautus was not the author of this passage, for, after all, the soldiers and sailors who served in Greece during this period brought back many slang expressions which they and Plautus understood and which later Romans quite forgot.<sup>8</sup> And the phrases that soldiers pick up in foreign lands are not likely to be the most respectable—as the novels of Dos Passos and Hemingway can show. This line, therefore, may possibly be original with Plautus, as doubtless the reference to Zacynthus is. However, the parody of the *Hercules* is more plausibly attributed to Philemon than to Plautus.

My suggestion then is that Plautus found in the *Emporos* a passage that was a straight parody of the mad-scene of the

<sup>7</sup> Meyer-Lübke, sub. voc., gives survivals in Italian; it is therefore quite possible that the word was popular in Latin, though the *Thes. L.* does not know it. On the other hand the word may have come into late Latin from the Greek part of Italy.

<sup>8</sup> For example, machaera, graphicus, mastigia, morus, danista, naucleus, etc.

*Hercules*; but, feeling that it would not succeed with a Roman audience which had not seen the *Hercules*, he recast the larger part of the scene and reshaped the first part of it into a parody of Pacuvius' *Teucer*, which, as I suppose, the audience had recently seen presented. And we may also assume that, if we had Pacuvius' play intact, we should find enough of its phrases burlesqued to make this scene of the *Mercator* mean more than it has seemed to the critics. One can hardly appreciate parody without a chance to understand the allusions. Perhaps this scene really was amusing.

## 2. ON T. PUBLILIUS PELLIO, THE PLAUTINE ACTOR.

We know very little about the early actors of Rome, to whom the early dramatists must have owed much of their success. It is, for instance, quite clear from the Terentian prologues that neither Caecilius nor Terence could have succeeded except for the enthusiastic persistence of the producer Ambivius Turpio. Of the Plautine *dominus gregis*, Pellio, we hear first in a didascallic notice of the *Stichus*, which Studemund ferreted out. The play was produced in 200 B. C. and the title rôle—which seems to fit in with that of Gelasimus—was doubtless carried by Pellio. Apparently Pellio excelled in farce and mimicry. We next find Pellio producing the *Epidicus* (cf. *Bacch.*, 215) where, of course, he took the artful rôle of the trickster.

Whether he appeared in the *Bacchides* seems to be a matter of doubt. Leo, *Ges. Röm. Lit.*, 94, assumes from the passage in the *Bacchides* that Pellio had failed in the *Epidicus* and that therefore some other troupe had charge of the *Bacchides*. But this interpretation seems to me to miss the point of the joke in line 213 where Chrysalus answers: "It is not what you say, but it is your acting that offends me." Then he turns to the audience and continues: "Even the *Epidicus*, a play I love as I do myself, offends me if Pellio acts it." Pellio therefore seems to be the actor who is carrying the part of Pistoclerus (and Philoxenus). Plautus and his players would hardly hesitate to joke about themselves in order to bring down the house by an unexpected jibe. Hence I should assume that here Pellio has the versatile rôle of Pistoclerus<sup>1</sup> to play. From these rôles

<sup>1</sup> It is of course true that Chrysalus has a more important part in

we may assume that Pellio not only could sing and dance very well but that he specialized in farce and buffoonery. It is not impossible that he was to some extent responsible for the type of comedy that displaced Menander's wit in the *Stichus* and the *Bacchides*.<sup>2</sup>

Now there seems to be a mention of Pellio in the *Menaechmi*, that, so far as I can find, has been missed. It comes in a dialogue between Erotium and Menaechmus II, whom she mistakes for his twin brother. He is insisting that he has just arrived by ship (ll. 50 ff.).

Erot. What ship are you talking about?

Men. ligneam, saepe tritam, saepe fixam, saepe excussam malleo, quasi supellex *pellionis*, palus palo proximust.

Erot. Jam, amabo desiste ludos facere . . .

This is usually taken to mean: "a ship as full of nails as a tanner's property, nail next to nail." Or, since *palus* never seems to mean *nail*, it is sometimes assumed to refer to the beams on which the tanner stretched his hides. But why the audience should be expected to find the comparison with a ship apposite, or indeed to know about the tanner's implements is not apparent.

I take Pellio as a proper name, the name of the master of the troupe, and I presume that he played Atellan farces as well as Plautine plays, and that the studio of his troupe had a full supply of the masks, wigs, and garbs needed in staging such farces, including a full row of *pali*.<sup>3</sup> In the *Menaechmi* I suppose that Pellio played the leading part, carrying the rôles of both the "identical twins" up to the eighth scene of the last act.

Plautus than Pistoclerus, but the latter part requires more careful playing, and in Menander's version must have given room for excellent characterization. See Kurrelmeyer, *The Economy of Actors in Plautus*, for the distribution of the rôles.

<sup>2</sup> The remark of Symmachus (*Ep.* X. 2) that Pellio was not the equal of Ambivius Turpio need not be anything but a hasty inference from *Bacchides* 215.

<sup>3</sup> For the meaning of the word see Horace, *Satire*, 1. 8. 5. The word never seems to mean *clavus*. In *Miles*, 1140, the *pali* are not nails, to be driven in boards, but rather the poles laid or erected in walls of sundried brick to keep them from crumbling. There may also be a pun in *palus*, since Greek  $\phi$  was pronounced in Plautus as  $p$ .



Of course, the stage properties referred to here would not be used in the *palliata* of Plautus. The conclusion, therefore, is that Pello's troupe also presented Atellan farces. Plautus' references to *buccones* (*Bacch.* 1088) and the *manduco* (*Rud.* 535) is proof enough that these farces were being played, and Plautus' own cognomen of *Maccus* is significant. It is quite possible that Publius Pello and his men were Campanians, and that we have here an indication of how the early stage at Rome found some of its actors for a profession<sup>4</sup> that Romans were so slow to enter.

We cannot assign a precise date to the *Menaechmi*, but the long monologue of Menaechmus I, in which he gives very explicit references to the procedure of Roman aediles in fining usurers<sup>5</sup> (ll. 583-92) would fit in well with the acts referred by Livy 35, 41 to the year 192. The scope of the aediles' activities was after the Punic war usually restricted to the affairs of the *annona*, to market prices, and to the punishing of graziers who herded their cattle on public land. It comes as something of a surprise that they concerned themselves with infractions of laws of usury in 192, but this was probably due to the recent passing of the Sempronian law (193, Livy, 35, 7). The culprits referred to in *Menaechmi*, 583 (*rapaces viri fraudulentum qui aut faenore aut perjuriis habent rem*) seem to be *faeneratores*, and the intervention of aediles at the time was striking enough to go down in the histories of the period. I should therefore call 192 a plausible date for the play. And since we are not sure of the dates of the *Epidicus* and the *Bacchides*, it is of some interest to get 192 B. C., besides 200 B. C., as a probable date for the activities of Pello.

We may be fairly sure then that Pello was an important producer from the year 200 till after 192, and probably till 189, the most plausible date of the *Bacchides*, that is, through the most vigorous period of Plautine activity; also that Pello presumably carried the lively rôles that Plautus considered his best. If Plautus had himself played the part of a *Maccus* in Atellan farces, as Leo thought,<sup>6</sup> his connections with Pello

<sup>4</sup> The common assumption that the *grew* consisted of slaves is incorrect; see *Class. Phil.* 1931, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. E. Cuq, in *Rev. Et. Anc.* 1919, 249 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Mesk, *Wien. Stud.*, 1919, 91, has questioned Leo's interpretation,

seem to be significant. Pellio's influence in the choice of plays that Plautus was to adapt for his company, in the alterations in these adaptations, and in the growing employment of cantica, may have been considerable. If Pellio was also a producer of Atellan farces, as the reference to the *supellex Pellionis* implies, we may have a clue to the source of many a "Plautine" peculiarity. The Rhinthonic travesty and hilarious farce of the south may well have found their way to Plautus through such a producer.

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but Plautus himself twice uses the word *artifices* for actors, singers, and dancers, that is, for the people who are eligible for the *palma* (*Poen.* 37; *Amph.* 70). Certainly "stage-hands" did not receive the palm. And, just as certainly, stage-hands, who would earn at most a denarius the day for some twenty days of the year, could not save enough out of their salary to go into mercantile business on the seas (Varro, in Gell. 3, 3, 14).

FULVIA PAULINA C. SENTII SATURNINI.\*

Judicial investigations and several trials in A. D. 19 brought to light scandalous outrages against morals in Roman society. The disclosures began with the trial of a lady named Vistilia under the *Lex Iulia de Adulteriis*. Daughter of a family which was of praetorian rank and wife of Titedius Labeo, also praetorian, she had registered her name with the aediles as a prostitute. Vistilia was convicted and sentenced to exile in the island of Seriphos.<sup>1</sup>

Immediately after Tacitus' account of that trial, we read: "Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Iudaicisque pellendis, factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quis idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam veherentur, coercendis illic latrociniiis et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent." But Tacitus does not tell us anything of the events which had led to this legislative action. We learn them from Josephus.

According to the Greek historian, a noble Roman lady, Fulvia, wife of Saturninus, was induced by four rascally Jews to make donations to the temple at Jerusalem; the Jews then appropriated the gifts to their own uses. Saturninus sought an audience with Tiberius, complained of the fraud and asked an investigation of the matter. Heidel has shown<sup>2</sup> what would probably have been learned in such an investigation, that this solicitation of funds was an invitation to Fulvia to become a temple prostitute—hence the association of this case by Tacitus with the trial of Vistilia. Whether civil suit for recovery of damages was brought against the defrauders, we do not know. But the serious implications of the whole affair and the active proselytizing of the Jews, which Dio mentions,<sup>3</sup> convinced the Emperor of the desirability of ridding Italy of the whole sect. Roman religious toleration had always ended at the point where

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<sup>1</sup> Tac. Ann. II 85.

<sup>2</sup> Heidel, W. A., "Why were the Jews banished from Italy in 19 A. D.," in *A.J.P.* XLI (1920), pp. 38-48.

<sup>3</sup> 57. 18. 5a.

the cult concerned became a menace to Roman morals. And so the Senate, at the instance, we may imagine, of Tiberius, decreed the expulsion of the Jews from Italy.<sup>4</sup>

Again from Josephus we learn of the mad infatuation of a prominent Roman knight, Decius Mundus, for a noble Roman lady, Paulina, wife of Saturninus. After Mundus' varied and repeated efforts to seduce Paulina had failed utterly, his freed-woman Ide suggested a deception which finally brought success to her patron. Ide bribed certain of the priests of Isis to entice Paulina into the temple under pretence of ritual, and admit Mundus to the sanctuary. He was then able, by impersonating Anubis, to satisfy his passion. But not content with that, Mundus avenged his numerous rebuffs by informing Paulina of the fraud, which she thereupon reported to Saturninus and he to Tiberius, asking an investigation. Another flagrant offence against morals was discovered. As this case also was an exposure of temple prostitution, it too was naturally associated with the whole Senatorial inquiry into prostitution, both venal and religious.

Three criminal trials eventuated. Josephus writes as if they were tried before Tiberius himself. It seems more probable that, having instituted the investigation, Tiberius is represented as pronouncing a sentence actually pronounced by the Senatorial court, for Tiberius seems to have exercised an imperial jurisdiction only *very* rarely. But he may have presided on this occasion out of friendship for Saturninus, and his well-known interest in the law and the State religion.

The priests of Isis were indicted, no doubt under the *Lex Iulia*. Two provisions of that law comprehended their part in the crime. "Plectitur et qui pretium pro comperto stupro acceperit: nec interest, utrum maritus sit qui acceperit an alius quilibet: quicumque enim ob conscientiam stupri accepit aliquid, poena erit plectendus."<sup>5</sup> The priests had been bribed by Ide, according to Josephus. "Qui domum suam, ut stuprum adulteriumve cum aliena matre familias vel cum masculo fieret, sciens prae-buerit . . . cuiuscumque sit condicionis, quasi adulter punitur." "Et si amici quis domum prae-buisset, tenetur. Sed et si quis in agro balneove stuprum fieri prae-buisset, comprehendi debet."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Jos. *Ant. Iud.* 18. 3. 5; Tac. *l. c.*    <sup>5</sup> *Dig.* 48. 5. 30 (29). 2 (Ulpian).

<sup>6</sup> *Dig.* 48. 5. 9 (8) pr. (Marcianus): 48. 5. 10 (9). 1 (Ulpian).

The priests had provided Mundus with a place in which to commit his crime, the temple of Isis. The defendants were found guilty and sentenced to execution by crucifixion.

The same indictment was brought against Ide. She had had a part in providing a scene for her patron's crime and undoubtedly had received from him a consideration for her clever and successful scheme. She also was convicted and the same sentence was executed upon her.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, Decius Mundus himself was indicted, also convicted and sentenced to exile (*φυγή*), as provided by the *Lex Iulia*.<sup>8</sup> Confiscation of half the property of the condemned, also ordered by the law, is not mentioned by Josephus, but may be with probability assumed.<sup>9</sup>

The Senate then proceeded to decree that the temple of Isis in the City be destroyed, the statue of the Goddess be thrown into the Tiber, and that all adherents of the sect should abandon its practice or leave Italy under threat of perpetual slavery.<sup>10</sup>

Now, both Fulvia and Paulina are described by Josephus in identical terms as of great dignity (*ἀξίωμα*—the same word is used twice of Paulina and once of Fulvia). The husband of each lady is named Saturninus. Both husbands took their wives' injuries immediately and directly to the Emperor, and in each case drastic punishment was visited upon the cult concerned. Finally the expulsion from Italy of both cults is recorded by Tacitus in the same phrase. The coincidence that two women of the same rank were involved with two Eastern cults in the same year, were the wives of men of the same name, who both had entrée to the Emperor and sufficient prestige to set governmental investigations in motion, is much too amazing to win credence. We may with Dessau assume that the husband's name is in one case erroneous,<sup>11</sup> but the coincidence is thereby little impaired. It is much more likely that Fulvia and Paulina were one and the same, wife of a Saturninus, called in one case by

<sup>7</sup> For the penalty of crucifixion in the reign of Tiberius, cf. Tac. *Ann.* II 32; IV 30.

<sup>8</sup> Paul. *Sent.* II 26. 14.

<sup>9</sup> For the whole episode of Paulina, Mundus, Ide and the priests of Isis, the sole source is Jos., *Ant. Jud.* 18. 3. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Jos. *l. c.*, Tac. *Ann.* II 82; Suet. *Tib.* 36.

<sup>11</sup> *Prosop.* S, 159.

her *nomen*, and in the other by her *cognomen*. The two names in combination belonged to a Roman lady of later date known to us from an inscription<sup>12</sup> as Baebia Fulvia Claudia Paulina Grattia Maximilla. Dessau remarks<sup>13</sup> that Saturninus is perhaps one of the Sentii Saturnini, sons of the consul of that name in B. C. 19. This seems to me not only possible but highly probable. Paulina was an adherent of the Jewish cult, and her husband was obviously a person of great prominence. Gaius Sentius Saturninus the elder had been a Pompeian supporter, but was restored to favor under the amnesty of Misenum and was consul in B. C. 19; the expectation had been that Augustus would be the other consul, but as his absence in the East was too long protracted, Quintus Lucretius Vespillo became Sentius' colleague. He was *XVvir* at Augustus' *Ludi Saeculares*. After being proconsul of Africa, he became Augustus' legate in Syria, to which province his three sons accompanied him as his *legati* in the last decade before Christ. Later he was *legatus Augusti* in Germany, becoming *legatus Tiberii Caesaris* when the future Emperor took over the command in Germany, and winning *ornamenta triumphalia* for his distinguished service.

Of his sons two, Gaius and Gnaeus, are well known to us, and the third is perhaps the Lucius whose name, but no more, is known to us from an inscription.<sup>14</sup> Both Gaius and Gnaeus came to the consulship in A. D. 4, the former as *ordinarius*, the latter as *suffectus*. Gaius was associated with the famous *Lex Aelia Sentia*; Gnaeus was *comes* to Germanicus on his Oriental mission and became Piso's successor as legate of Syria. And Gnaeus' son Gnaeus was colleague of the Emperor Gaius in the consulship and one of Claudius' most distinguished aids in the conquest of Britain.<sup>15</sup> Three generations of the family were intimately associated with four successive Emperors. The first two generations, following their long official residence in Syria, may well have been patrons in Rome of the Jews. Fulvia Paulina was probably wife of either Gaius or Gnaeus (the consuls of A. D. 4). But Josephus writes as if Saturninus was in Rome at this time, whereas Gnaeus we know was in Syria with Germanicus; I believe, therefore, that she was the wife of Gaius.

<sup>12</sup> *C. I. L.* VI 1361.<sup>13</sup> *Prosop.* *ibid.*<sup>14</sup> *C. I. L.* VI 9979.<sup>15</sup> For the biographical details, cf. *Prosop.* S, 293-297.

## NOTE ON SUTONIUS, VESPASIAN 12.

Mr. Kenneth Scott's note in *Class. Phil.* 1932, 82, gives me an opportunity to suggest a wholly different interpretation of Vespasian 12.

First, as regards the text: *Ac ne tribuniciam quidem potestatem, patris patriae appellationem nisi sero recepit.* Despite the unanimous opinion of critics that there is a lacuna before "patris" that necessitates emendation, I propose that we keep to the reliable MSS, assuming asyndeton before "patris." "He did not assume even the tribunician power and the title, Father of His Country, until late." The asyndeton is awkward in English but possible in Latin. Perhaps some may think the carrying over of the negative idea in "*ne . . . quidem*" to the second member, "*appellationem*", is difficult; likewise "*nisi sero*" not only belongs with "*appellationem*" but harks back to the first element, "*tribuniciam potestatem.*" Some critics, therefore, prefer the MS variation: the Gudianus and certain fifteenth-century MSS add the negative "*nec*" before "patris", an emendation that solves the supposed difficulty. (Emendation it is; for a brief study of G will suffice to prove how over and over again it shows discriminating ability in correcting imagined or actual difficulties. Cp. Ihm, p. 203, l. 13; 223. 28; 204. 11, etc. Moreover, the all but complete study I have at hand puts G in such a place in the stemma of the Suetonius MSS as to be worthless alone. The same is true of all the fifteenth-century MSS; accordingly, we may disregard the "et" variant also.) Alexander, however, (*Univ. of Cal. publications in Class. Phil.* 2, 1911-1916, pp. 10 ff.) points out that "*ne . . . quidem*" is never followed by "*nec*" elsewhere in Suetonius but mostly by "*aut*" and almost exclusively by "*aut*" where nouns are to be connected. In other words, "*ne . . . quidem*" and "*nisi sero*" are negatives enough.

Now as to the sense of the passage.<sup>1</sup> To state briefly what has perplexed the commentators: If Vespasian refused (such is usually thought to be implied by Suetonius) the tribunician power at first, accepting it only late in his emperorship, how does one explain the fact that inscriptions (e.g. C. I. L. III,

<sup>1</sup> See Weynand, *Pauly-Wiss.* VI, 2635.

p. 853 dated December 2, 76, "trib. pot. VIII") prove that Vespasian reckoned his tribunician power from the acclamation of the army, July 1, 69? The difficulty has arisen through a misunderstanding of the words "recepit" and "nisi sero." "Recepit" does not imply that Vespasian accepted the tribunician power after having refused it earlier; for far from refusing it, Vespasian dates his tribunician power from the salutation by the army on July 1, 69, not even waiting for the legal action of the senate and comitia. (Suetonius is accurate, Vesp. 6, as to the "principatus dies.") Moreover, in Jul. 63, Titus 6, 1, Dom. 14, 4, Nero 48, 4, Jul. 76, 3, Aug. 27, 5 (twice) etc., "reciperè" is used with no implication of possible or actual refusal. As to "nisi sero": Of course, the tribunician power was not legally bestowed until Rome was taken and the Senate and people were out of the hands of the Vitellians. Doubtless, it was one of the "cuncta principibus solita" (Tac. H. IV, 3) voted by the senate on December 22, 69, the tribunician power being one of the two chief powers that constituted the principate. But this initial action of the Senate had to be ratified by the people; for this ratification Nero waited 53 days. Suetonius indicates a similar delay in the case of Vespasian by "nisi sero." In our passage Suetonius means simply: "Vespasian cared little for form. As a matter of fact, he exercised all the powers of emperor for months before they were formally bestowed. As to the tribunician power in particular—he didn't legally assume that until 'comparatively' late, owing to the delay of the comitia." It might be added that the action of the comitia was considered a mere form (Mommson, Staat. (1887) II<sup>2</sup>, p. 876); so Vespasian had the opportunity of at least pretending indifference as to whether the people ever met.

"Sero" must mean "comparatively late", not "late in his emperorship"; otherwise it is just as difficult (a fact that seems to have been overlooked) with "appellationem" as with "tribuniciam potestatem." For the title *Pater Patriae* was accepted in the first half of 70. The inscription (C. I. L. III, p. 849) of March 6, 70, in which the title does not appear, and the Sardinian milestone (C. I. L. X 8005), to be dated before July 1, 70 and in which the title does appear, prove that Vespasian accepted the title sometime between March and July, 70. Note also that the connotation of "recepit" with "appella-



tionem" is that of acceptance after refusal (cp. Aug. 52, Tib. 24, 2, Tib. 26 etc., where possible or actual refusal is implied); for Pertinax (Script. Hist. Aug., Pertin. 5) was the first to accept the title immediately. We may suppose it was proffered at once (Dec. 22, 69) as in the case of Nero (Suet. Nero 8). Such a change in the connotation of the verb for two objects is, of course, very common. Translate our passage, then:

"He was late (probably between March and July, 70) in accepting (because of the delay of the comitia) even the tribunician power and the title Father of His Country" (through reluctance).

Lastly, those who want a lacuna before "patris" seem to have stopped short of their strongest argument; namely, the sentence that follows and which ends the paragraph: "Nam consuetudinem scrutandi salutantes manente adhuc bello civili omiserat." This sentence is the explanation of nothing that has preceded nor is there any verb in relation to which the pluperfect "omiserat" expresses an antecedent action. If there is to be a lacuna, it must be not only one or two words long as suggested by Mr. Scott and the rest, but must contain that of which this sentence is added by way of explanation.

Jul. 44, however, suggests a better way. There "nam" opens the paragraph; it is a continuative particle and nothing more. Coming back to our passage, note that the sense requires the "nam . . . omiserat" sentence to be read with the next paragraph. I propose, therefore, that we end the paragraph at "recepit" and begin the next paragraph with the sentence "nam . . . omiserat." Having done with Vespasian's dislike of ceremony, Suetonius continues with a paragraph on his fearlessness.

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## APHRODITE'S DOVES AT PAPHOS IN 1932.

It is a well-known fact that in matters which concern religion mankind is very conservative. Even where one form of religion supplants another the newer form frequently takes over from the older some of its distinctive features. This has been pointed out many times in connection with the Christian church, particularly in churches in classic lands which rest on foundations of ancient temples. Sometimes we find that there is a reminiscence of the ancient divinity in the name given to the church; and again sometimes some peculiarity in the ritual recalls an ancient rite. In the present note I wish to call attention to a certain attribute of Aphrodite which has been taken over by a Christian church in Cyprus.

From very ancient times the dove was associated with Aphrodite as her sacred bird. This was true not merely during the Graeco-Roman period, but still earlier with her oriental predecessors; for the association of the dove with the Goddess of Love was well established long before her worship was brought from the East into Greece.<sup>1</sup> This fact is so well attested that it does not seem necessary to cite examples.

The most famous home of Aphrodite in classical times was Paphos on the island of Cyprus. Here the goddess was worshipped at two different sites, at Old Paphos, the modern Kouklia, and at New Paphos, famous in Roman times and known to-day as Paphos. This latter site now consists of little else than meagre ruins scattered over a wide area. In one place three massive, unfluted, monolithic columns of gray granite are still standing. Hogarth saw four in 1888.<sup>2</sup> According to local tradition it was at this place that the Apostle Paul was tied to a column and flogged, and one broken shaft enclosed by an iron railing is pointed out as the actual spot. Hogarth thought that these columns belonged to a temple the remains of which lie under the church of Saint George.<sup>3</sup> He is probably correct. It was presumably a temple of Aphrodite though its identity has

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Aphrodite, I, cols. 409 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Devia Cypria*, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffrey, *Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, p. 400, thinks that possibly these columns are not in position.

not been definitely established. The date of the church is uncertain, but it seems to stand within the cella of the old Roman temple. In this church is an interesting feature which seems to be a survival from antiquity. In front of the iconostasis there are figures of five white doves holding in their beaks cords supporting lamps. One might, at first sight, suppose these doves to be Christian symbols; but in view of the fact that the dove played so important a part in the worship of the ancient goddess, and in view of the place where the church stands, it is more natural to conclude that these are really Aphrodite's doves transferred from her ancient temple to the Christian church which succeeded it.

The strength of this tradition may be still further observed in a new church erected recently, a short distance from the older church on the site of the temple. This is a larger building, but in it, in the same position as in the older church, there are again five white doves holding cords suspending lamps. In other words in this year 1932 Aphrodite's doves still have a place in their ancient home. The old sanctuary and the old worship have gone but the tradition of the doves lives on and they are likely to continue in evidence for many years to come.

In one other place near Paphos the presence of Aphrodite's sacred birds may be observed. About seven miles from Ktima in a hidden valley is the monastery of Saint Neophytus founded in the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup> Here the bones of the saint are shown in a wooden box said to have been made by himself. Above them is a sort of canopy surmounted by two rude wooden doves gilded. Here then, once again, associated with the memory of the holy man, are the representatives of the great goddess of Paphos.

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<sup>4</sup> Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 22, says that its books were burnt about one hundred years ago. The abbot, however, showed me a twelfth century manuscript of the New Testament which must have escaped destruction at that time.

A DIFFICULT PASSAGE IN SENECA, *EPISTULAE*  
*MORALES*, XL, 9-10.

The passage as printed in Hense, Seneca III, p. 122, reads: Recte ergo facies, si non videris istos, qui quantum dicant, n quemadmodum quaerunt, et ipse malueris, si necesse est, ut Vinicius dicere. "qui itaque?" cum quaereretur, quomodo Vinicius diceret, Asellius ait: "tractim." nam Geminus Vari ait: "quomodo istum disertum dicatis nescio: tria verba n potest iungere." quidni malis tu sic dicere, quomodo Viniciu aliquis tam insulsus intervenerit quam qui illi singula ver vellenti, tamquam dictaret, non diceret, ait: "dic, numqu dicas?" nam Q. Hateri cursum, suis temporibus oratoris ce berrimi, longe abesse ab homine sano volo.

This passage is a fair sample of the difficulties which abound in the text of the *Epistulae Morales*. My conclusions upon it may be stated summarily so far as the first two sentences (*tractim*) are concerned.

- (1) it seems hard to reject the practically unanimous *vel Vinicium* of the mss.
- (2) *qui itaque*, the ms. reading is, to me, unintelligible. Summers (Cl. Quarterly, 1908, p. 28) says "certainly corrupt", pointing out that *qui* in this sense is not Senecan, and referring us to Epp. XXIX, 6, for two examples of the usual transition from a proper name to an illustrative anecdote. *Itaque* too is surely phenomenal in the connection.
- (3) the repeating of *P. Vinicius* before *diceret* is unnecessary and unlike Seneca's style, which is not untidy.

I propose to read: et ipse malueris, si necesse est, vel Vinicium dicere *exquisite*. *qui* cum quaereretur quomodo diceret Asellius ait: "tractim". This involves *exquisite qui* for *qui itaque* of the mss. and the dropping of *P. Vinicius* before *diceret*. The former emendation is very close to the mss. and I regard *P. Vinicius* as an interpolation for a reason to be presently explained. I translate the sentence as emended: "and you will of your own motion, prefer to have even P. Vinicius talk so meticulously. When the question was raised as to how he spoke etc."

*Exquisite* I have not been able to parallel in Seneca, but it is a Latin word in good standing from classical times on. Cicero says of Calvus (Brut. de Clar. Orr. 283): *accuratius quoddam dicendi et exquisitius afferebat genus*, and what immediately follows is very suggestive: "nimium tamen inquirens in se atque ipse sese observans metuensque ne vitiosum colligeret, etiam verum sanguinem deperdebat." The effect of speaking *exquisite* was evidently to slow him up greatly,—Vinicius's trouble exactly. He was (Seneca, Controv. VII, 5, 10): *exactissimi vir ingenii qui nec dicere res ineptas nec ferre poterat*. Such a man would be certain to pick his words with unusual deliberation, and much stress has already been laid in letter XL on the careful choice of words. Cf. also in one of the rare Senecan epistles on literary style (letter C, 5) the words: [Fabiani] *electa verba sunt, non captata*.

As *quaereretur* could be impersonal only (Krebs-Schmalz, *Antibarbarus*<sup>7</sup>, p. 433), there is no real difficulty in *qui* holding over as the subject of *diceret*. Yet it was hard enough, when the break up of *exquisite* took place, to cause *qui* to be detached from its clause and be attached to a supposed *ita*; and I take it that *P. Vinicius* was inserted as a subject for *diceret*.

The sentence: *nam Q. Hateri cursum etc.* a dissuasive against the torrential style of that orator, needs, as Summers remarks, its *nam* made intelligible; it would seem that it relates to: *quidni malis tu sic dicere quomodo Vinicius?* "Why should you not choose to speak in the manner of Vinicius, for I maintain that the express train style of Haterius is sheer insanity."

If that is the logical connection, then the "*aliquis . . . dicas*" sentence is parenthetic, and interrupts the run of the argument. It is introduced because Seneca has another Vinicius story to tell, and, like the resolved story teller, he will tell it at all costs. But he fits it in cleverly enough as an assumed answer of Lucilius's. "Why shouldn't you choose to speak in the style of Vinicius?"—"Some big fool would turn up like the one who said to Vinicius when he was plucking out his words one at a time, like a man dictating rather than talking, 'Go on'; you never would go on."—"Because I consider the style of Haterius absolutely mad etc."

This involves retaining *numquam* of the mss. (and it is difficult to follow Buecheler in reading *numquid*), and adopting

CATANA THE CHEESE-GRATER IN ARISTOPHANES'  
*WASPS*.

A cheese-grater is included among the kitchen utensils that are called as witnesses for the dog Labes in Aristophanes' *Wasps* 938. In lines 963-966 the cheese-grater takes the stand and tacitly assents to the statement that it grated up for the soldiers what it received as steward. Neither editors of Aristophanes nor historians have, I believe, noted the significance of the cheese-grater's appearance and testimony. It might be supposed that kitchen utensils were selected as appropriate witnesses in regard to the stealing of a cheese in a kitchen where they were present. But this does not account for the reference to troops. We are reminded that Labes is Laches and that the stolen Sicilian cheese is the money collected for operations in Sicily that Laches was accused of appropriating for himself. It is evident that testimony was produced at the trial of Laches by someone who had been entrusted with money by him to the effect that this money had been expended for the support of soldiers.

The necessary explanation is provided by Plutarch's statement (*Dion* 58, 2) that Callippus, having lost Syracuse and taken Catana, remarked that he had lost a city and got a cheese-grater. Catana then is the cheese-grater, and it must have been Catana that testified through her representatives in defense of Laches at his trial, bearing witness that certain money had been expended for the troops under the stewardship of the Catanian state. It follows from this that Catana was for a time an Athenian base during the generalship of Laches just as it was later in the years 415-413. We do not need to suppose that the other utensils mentioned in lines 937 f. also represented cities. They were probably included merely for the greater elaboration of the joke.

It may be doubted whether an Athenian audience would all have known that Catana meant cheese-grater in the Sicilian dialect. Still there must have been many old soldiers who would have grasped the allusion at once and would have been glad to explain the joke to the rest. Those who knew the facts about Laches' trial would have recognized Catana even before they were informed why the representation was appropriate. We may assume that as in the case of Zancle, 'sickle', the name of

Catana was suggested by some topographical feature. We see also why Labes was made to steal a cheese rather than anything more appropriate to a dog.

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#### NOTE ON ARISTOPHANES *VESPAE* 818-823.

I should like to add a brief note to H. Comfort's useful discussion of this passage in *AJP* LII (1931), 362-369. He seems to me to be right in his assignment of lines and in his contention that the scholiast's introduction of a painting is unfortunate. His further suggestion, that the object referred to in line 820 and later compared to Cleonymus was a herm, is attractive. There is, however, an alternative that deserves to be considered. In front of the Greek house was not only a herm of Apollo but also a shrine of Hecate with an image of the goddess, as is clear from line 804. In Daremberg and Saglio, Vol. III, p. 48, there is a representation of Hecate 'gardienne des maisons' in which she appears as a female figure with a single head. There are two advantages in interpreting the lines in question with reference to Hecate and her shrine in preference to Mr. Comfort's herm: 1. Hecate had a shrine, and a shrine is pointed out in line 820. 2. The joke that Cleonymus is a woman is Aristophanic (*Nubes* 673 and scholium ad locum). I translate lines 820-823:

Bdelycleon. Here's the shrine, and here's the king himself.

Philocleon. O Lord Hero, how difficult it was to see you, to be sure.

Sosias. He appears to us in the guise of Cleonymus; at any rate he hasn't any weapons either, hero though he is.

Line 821 might still be translated 'how fierce you were of aspect' and taken ironically, but the joke is better the other way, for a hero would indeed be hard to see in a statue of Hecate. The reading of the best manuscripts RV, *χαλεπόν* for *χαλεπός*, may well be right. The latter looks like a superficial correction, and if Aristophanes wrote *χαλεπὸν ἄρ' ἦν σ' ἰδεῖν*, it would require only the loss of N after H to produce *χαλεπὸν ἄρ' ἦς ἰδεῖν* and by successive corrections *χαλεπὸν ἄρ' ἦσθ' ἰδεῖν* (RVS) and *χαλεπὸς ἄρ' ἦσθ' ἰδεῖν*, the reading of inferior manuscripts and of our texts. This is more probable than the supposition that *χαλεπόν* was introduced into our best two manuscripts by an unlikely mistake.

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## REPORTS.

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA E DI ISTRUZIONE CLASSICA, Vol. LIX (1931).

Pp. 1-11. Il nono Catalepton dell' Appendix vergiliana. Tenney Frank. The Ninth Catalepton should be referred to the year 48 B. C. It was written in honor of Messalla Corvinus on receipt of the report of the first battle of Philippi.

Pp. 12-47. I primordii dell' evoluzione poetica e spirituale di Virgilio: II. L'epitafio di Pompeo. III. Il, Culex. Storia esterna: occasione e autenticità del poemetto. Augusto Rostagni. The Third Catalepton refers to Alexander the Great. It was written in 48 B. C. The goddess referred to at the close is Nemesis. Tenney Frank is almost certainly right in referring the Culex to the year 48. The "Octavius venerandus" is the future emperor, who had recently been elected to the office of pontif at a tender age.

Pp. 48-72. Aristagora di Mileto. Gaetano De Sanctis. A criticism of Herodotus' account of the Ionian insurrection of 498 B. C.

Pp. 73-92. Dopo Ipsos. Piero Treves. The fortunes of Demetrius Poliorcetes, Cassander, Demetrius Phalereus and Lachares after the battle at Ipsus, B. C. 301.

Pp. 93-104. Miscellanea: I. Un documento d'arbitrato fra Megalopoli e Turia. Mario Attilio Levi. II. Fidentia e Fidentiola vicus. Arturo Solari. III. Barca. G. De Sanctis. Rejects Herodotus' story that the people of Barca in the Libyan Cyrenaica were removed to Bactriana, and there gave the name Barca to their new home. The Barcani mentioned by Ctesias were the Hyrcani. IV. Gli "aretalogi" e un esempio di falsa etimologia. A. Rostagni. A scholiast on Juvenal, xiv. 16, offers two etymologies of the word "aretalogus": one from ἀρετή, the other from ἀρρητα = ea quae dicta non sunt, i. e. one who divulges the mysteries of a god. The "dicta" of the second definition should not be changed to "ficta."

Pp. 105-126. Reviews and book notices.

Pp. 127-136. Notes and news.

Pp. 137-139. Obituary notice of Ettore Stampini, editor of the Rivista from 1897 to 1923. Lorenzo Dalmasso.

Pp. 140-144. List of new books received.

Pp. 145-184. Il Culex: La concezione ideologica e mitica. Augusto Rostagni. The Culex was not written in jest, or as a parody. The scene of the poem is not in Italy, but in Illyria.



Pp. 185-206. Relazione melodica di strofe e antistrofe nel coro greco. Romualdo Giani and Carlo del Grande.

Pp. 207-221. Conferma di due leggi fonetiche. Matteo Bartoli. The accented termination of Aryo-European adjectives in -os and substantives in -ā is set forth in support of Verner's Law.

Pp. 222-229. La battaglia di Notion. Gaetano De Sanctis. The report of Diodorus is more trustworthy than that of Xenophon.

Pp. 230-242 and 335-354. Studi sulla storiografia greca del IV secolo. Arnaldo Momigliano. Teopompo. A discussion of Theopompus, and his relations to Thucydides, Herodotus, Isocrates, and Antisthenes.

Pp. 243-246. Miscellanea: I. Ancora sull' iscrizione coregica di Aixone. M. Guarducci. II. Peucesta. A. Momigliano. Mention of Peucestas, Satrap of Persia, in a Hellenistic inscription from Caria.

Pp. 247-271. Reviews and book notices (including a long and detailed discussion of Ch. Jensen's new text of Menander, by Goffredo Coppola).

Pp. 272-281. Notes and news.

Pp. 282-288. List of new books received.

Pp. 289-329. I primordi dell' evoluzione poetica e spirituale di Virgilio. V. Virgilio e Lucrezio. VI. La scuola epicurea di Napoli. Augusto Rostagni. The school of Siro was at Naples, not at Rome.

Pp. 330-354. Una lettera a Demetrio Poliorcete. Gaetano De Sanctis. Study of a fragment published in 1898, in the first volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, p. 36. It was addressed to Demetrius Poliorcetes, about 293-291 B. C. It was probably written by Hieronymus of Cardia.

Pp. 355-376. Dopo Ipso. Piero Treves. Conclusion of a long article begun on pp. 73-92 of this volume.

Pp. 377-381. Frammenti di un Dittirambo di Pindaro in una poesia bizantina. Carlo Gallavotti.

Pp. 382-390. Sopra alcuni concetti della poetica antica: I. Ἀπάτη. II. Φιλανθρωπία del dramma. Quintino Cataudella.

Pp. 391-424. Reviews and book notices.

Pp. 425-432. List of new books received.

Pp. 433-461. Intorno al contenuto dell' antica teogonia orfica. Rodolfo Mondolfo. A review of recent speculation about

the ancient Orphic theogony, written for a new Italian edition of Zeller's Greek Philosophy.

Pp. 462-479. Occasione e autenticità della *Ciris*. Augusto Rostagni. A careful argument in support of the tradition which ascribes the *Ciris* to the youthful Virgil. The 'Cecropius hortulus' is the Epicurean Garden at Naples. The Messalla to whom it is addressed is M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. The poem may have been begun in the year 48, but finished only in 45.

Pp. 480-484. Alessandro Filelleno. G. Lombardo. On the philhellenism of Alexander I of Macedon. Herodotus implies that he showed friendship to Sparta, rather than to Hellas.

Pp. 485-503. Intorno al *Contro Apione*. A. Momigliano. A discussion of Josephus' treatise Against Apion: I. The genesis of the work; II. His attitude toward Manetho.

Pp. 504-508. Sopra un opuscolo perduto di Dione Crisostomo. Carlo Gallavotti. Among the writings of Dio Chrysostomus cited by Suidas there is an Ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους καὶ Πλάτωνος. This title should probably be Ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους κατὰ Πλάτωνος. It may have dealt with Plato's treatment of Homer in the *Republic*.

Pp. 509-514. Miscellanea: I. Sul Pap. Heidel. 314, KATA ΑΙΣΧΡΟΚΕΡΔΕΙΑΣ. Quintio Cataudella. II. Ancora sull'iscrizione sepolcrale di Aptera. M. Guarducci.

Pp. 515-549. Reviews and book notices.

Pp. 550-558. Notes and news.

Pp. 559-568. List of new books received.

W. P. MUSTARD.

# PHILOLOGUS, LXXXVI (N. F. XL), 1931.

Pp. 1-17. Eduard Fraenkel, Der Zeushymnus im Agamemnon des Aischylos. This hymn to Zeus has an intimate connection with the rest of the choral ode. Such appeals to the gods are common in chorus passages; their origin is probably to be found in cult hymns.

Pp. 18-51. Ludwig Klein, Die Göttertechnik in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios. The article begins with a discussion of the part played by the gods in the Argo legend before the time of Apollonius, and especial attention is given to the Homeric treatment of the Olympians. In a stylistic and self-conscious age like the Alexandrian period, the Homeric method of introducing the gods into mortal affairs could not be adopted.

Apollonius, therefore, introduces the gods at a point where the action rests, or where the interest is lowered. The article is continued on a later page.

Pp. 52-67. J. Handschin, *Musikalische Miszellen*. I. The passage in the *περὶ ὕψους* 28, 1, is to be interpreted as meaning that heightening of the effect consists in the fact that simultaneously with the melodic note there is sounded another which stands in consonantal relation to it. II. The term *ἐγέρισμον*, which is twice used by Martianus Capella, refers to the instrumental prelude which precedes a song. III. Reasons are given for putting sound responsions into the category of music.

Pp. 68-117. Robert S. Radford, *The Culex* and Ovid. The reasons for believing that Ovid wrote the *Culex* are here stated with considerable elaboration. The vocabulary of the poem, the versification, the mythology, the general atmosphere, the very imperfections, are shown to be Ovidian, not Vergilian. The date of the poem is put at 13 B. C. Professor Radford has a higher opinion of the *Culex* than many critics. While it is immature, and shows many of Ovid's peculiar defects, it is, nevertheless, a pleasing and clever poem of its kind.

Pp. 118-132. *Miszellen*. Pp. 118-122. A. Rehm, *Zu Aristot. 'Aθ. π. c. 47. 48. Reconstitution of the text*. Pp. 122-128. Stephan Brassloff, *Beiträge zum Juristenlatein*. The use of *decernere* with the infinitive is not a peculiarity of Ulpian's style, it rests on textual changes made by the Justinian compilers. In the great majority of instances the phrase *libertatem dare* is used of testamentary manumission. The number of cases in which the phrase is not so used is small. Pp. 128-132. Hugo Koch, *Zwei Erlasse Papst Stephans I. in sprachgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung*. In two indulgences of Stephen I *nisi* is used in the sense of *sed*. Several other instances of the usage are given.

Pp. 133-144. J. Wackernagel, *Orthographica und Verwandtes*. 1. Remarks on *ἰδῶς* and related words. This word must have been spelled originally with an initial digamma; it is surprising that Homer shows no trace of this. It is argued that instead of *ἴδος* and *ἰδέν* one should read *εἶδος* and *εἰδέν*. This is a probable though not mandatory correction. 2. The spelling of the Spartan name *Παιδάγγελος* is a mistake for *Πεδάπερος*. Names of this kind do not appear until Hellenistic times, and then rather seldom. 3. The spelling *Thessandrus* (Verg. *Aen.* 2. 261) shows that the name of the Greek hero had been familiar to the Romans since the pre-classical period. The original form was *Thessander*, which became *Thessandrus* just as *Euander* became *Euandrus*.

Pp. 145-168. Walther Schwahn, *Diyillos*. It has already been noticed that the third fragment of *Diyillos* agrees with a

passage in Diodorus (XIX 52. 5). It is here shown that Diyllos was Diodorus' principal source for the early history of Macedonia, and for Greece in the time of the Diadochi. Diyllos' history was plain and undecorated, his sources unexceptionable. Diodorus could scarcely have found a better source for his history.

Pp. 169-184. Ernst Kornemann, *Zum Staatsrecht des Polybios*. The author here undertakes to show by internal evidence that Book VI of Polybius was worked over twice, and that the second version was made before 146. After that date the book remained essentially incomplete. Chapter 18 of the present text represents the end of the first version, while the greatest gap in the book lies between the forty-second and forty-third chapters. The time interval between the two versions is about ten years, approximately 157-147.

Pp. 185-198. R. Reitzenstein, *Alexander von Lykopolis*. A discussion of the sources of Alexander's polemic in which the author takes issue with the conclusions reached by Richard Harder, *Philologus*, 85, pp. 247 ff. It is here asserted that the Manichaean doctrine in Alexander's work is derived from a Neoplatonist who had turned Manichee. It is necessary to distinguish certain interpolations made by Alexander from his general statements of the Manichaean system. The present author does not esteem Alexander's polemic so highly as Harder does.

Pp. 199-214. Artur Biedl, *Die Himmelsteilung nach der disciplina Etrusca*. A recently discovered marble fragment bears an inscription which seems to be connected with the Etruscan practice of dividing the sky into sixteen parts. The fragment is discussed in connection with the bronze liver of Piacenza. An attempt is made to trace the Etruscan doctrine of the heavens as it appears in Roman literary tradition, and a photograph is appended of the marble fragment in question.

Pp. 215-257. Ludwig Klein, *Die Göttertechnik in den Argonautika des Apollonios Rhodios*. Conclusion of the preceding article, pp. 18-51. Apollonius' treatment of the gods is strictly in accordance with the principles of Alexandrian literary technique. This is shown by a long analysis of the episodes in which the gods appear. This discussion of the gods is purely literary, no religious conclusions are to be drawn from it.

Pp. 258-260. *Miszellen*. Pp. 258-259. O. Stein, *Klearchos von Soloi*. The literary activity of this writer falls about 250 B. C. P. 260. Joseph Balogh, *Ein Irrtum in Harnacks Possidius-Übersetzung*. A suggested correction of what the author believes to be a mistranslation by Harnack.

Pp. 261-299. Matthias Gelzer, *Nasica's Widerspruch gegen die Zerstörung Karthagos*. Nasica is shown to have opposed Cato solely in the interests of Rome, and not from any desire

to protect civilization from Rome's advance. He thought that Carthage would make a valuable counter-weight to Rome, and that the continued existence of the Punic city would produce greater unity at Rome, and greater efficiency in the government. The soundness of the Roman state seemed more important to him than the extension of its power. The arguments advanced by Nasica are shown to be philosophical commonplaces, known to all the learned men of the time.

Pp. 300-331. Ernst Wenkebach, ΠΕΜΦΙΞ. A glossographical study in which an attempt is made to mend the text and explain the meaning of several passages in which this word occurs.

Pp. 332-337. K. Barwick, Ein neues Enniusfragment. Cicero, De Republica I, 56, has *qui nutu, ut ait Homerus, totum Olympum converteret*, a reference to A 528, ff. A slight change of the words gives *nutu totum convertit Olympum*, part of a hexameter which Cicero may have taken from Ennius. Conjecturally emended the verse would read *Adnūit* (or *adnūit et*) *nutu totum convortit Olympum*. The verse may be assigned to Book VII of the *Annales*.

Pp. 338-368. J. Stroux, Vier Zeugnisse zur römischen Literaturgeschichte der Kaiserzeit. I. Maternus, Orator and Poet. A few minor changes in the text of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, 11, make it certain that the composition by which Maternus first won fame was an oration against Vatinius, and not, as some suppose, a drama. II. Caligula's judgment on Seneca's style. In Suetonius, *Caligula* 53, for *commissions* read *commissuras*. The criticism would then mean that Seneca's writings were like a wall which was full of gaps, and in which the mortar was not held together with sand. III. Cornutus, father and son. L. Annaeus Cornutus, philosopher and grammarian, had a son Titus who published a grammar which was a legacy from his father. The father left the work in the form of a note-book, and the son edited the material. IV. Allegorical interpretation of Vergil. A passage in Augustine's *De Utilitate Credendi* seems to show that allegorical interpretation of Vergil was practiced at that time. Augustine points out that while allegory may be necessary in order to explain the Bible, it is not necessary in so far as the pagan writers are concerned.

Pp. 369-372. *Miszellen*. Pp. 369-370. F. Jacoby, Zur Topographie der Schlacht bei Salamis (Strabon 9, 1, 14). An attempt to clear up difficulties by mending the text. Pp. 370-372. Otto Weinreich, Zu Babrios 107 und Martial I 20. Babrius can scarcely have read Martial, therefore the resemblance between these two passages is attributable to the common feeling of the two authors for the ethos of the animal world.

Pp. 373-399. Eduard Schwartz, Einiges über Assyrien, Syrien, Koilesyrien. Although Herodotus distinguished between Syria and Assyria, the later Greeks often confused the two. This confusion may have arisen from the association of Greek merchants with Phoenicians and Philistines who were subjects of the Assyrian king. Koile Syria was originally the same as Syria; the political division of Syria gave the adjective a distinguishing force which it did not originally have. Koile Syria is kol-haaschur, that is, the Empire of Assur.

Pp. 400-418. Walter Otto, Zu den syrischen Kriegen der Ptolemäer. 1. The Milesian inscription of Ptolemy II has been assigned by Tarn to the year 277/6. An examination of the evidence shows this date to be too early. The date assigned by Rehm (262-260) is better. Tarn also exaggerates the success of Ptolemy in the first Syrian war. 2. The dates of the second Syrian war are 260/59 to 253. Tarn is in error in asserting that the war ended in 255.

Pp. 419-423. Paul Wolters, Der Amykläische Thron bei Kallisthenes. An ingenious argument to prove that the throne of Apollo mentioned by Kallisthenes is identical with the one located by Pausanias at Amyclae.

Pp. 424-426. Ernst Buschor, Maiandrios. A recently discovered fragment of a Hellenistic monument to Maiandrios indicates that it was a restoration of a previously existing monument. Two photographs of the inscription are appended.

Pp. 427-454. Leopold Wenger, ὍποΙ ἈΣΥΡΙΑΣ. The right of sanctuary granted by the Church has no connection with any similar privilege connected with pagan shrines. Such a right could not have arisen until after the victory of Christianity. The right of sanctuary was granted by the Emperor, who also fixed its limits. The present article reviews all the evidence on the subject, especially the epigraphic.

Pp. 455-459. Rudolf Pfeiffer, Küchenlatein. This expression was first used by Valla in an attack on Poggio in 1452.

Pp. 460-491. Johannes Stroux, Die Foruminschrift beim Lapis niger. The inscription is conjecturally completed, and interpreted as referring to the privileges of the *rex sacrorum*. The date is put as c. 500.

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## REVIEWS.

The Treasurers of Athena. By WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1932. ix + 198 pages. \$4.00.

This monograph presents a new study of the treasure lists of Athens from the closing years of the Peloponnesian War, and is particularly important for epigraphists and students of the economic history of the period. The first problem which Ferguson attacks is the date of the consolidation of the boards of Athena and of the Other Gods. This he dates in 406/5, basing his argument on a decree in the archonship of Kallias. This decree in turn rests on his restoration of IG<sup>2</sup> I 255a (p. 13) which is found on a stele containing records of the inventory of treasures in the Pronaos (IG<sup>2</sup> I 254, 255. The second part of the latter is numbered 255a by Ferguson). These treasures were under the care of the stewards of Athena and the inventories in Nos. 254 and 255 (first part) were evidently recorded by this board. Ferguson ascribes the third record (No. 255a) on this stele to the consolidated board, although he states elsewhere (p. 77) that no board ever encroached on the stele belonging to another. Moreover his restoration of this document unfortunately repeats an error of the first editor nearly a century ago who claimed that this inscription had more letters in the line than those engraved above it. The inscriptions are *stoichedon*; the width of the stone and the spacing of the letters are ascertainable facts, so the length of the line to be restored can easily be determined. I am indebted to Mr. Frederick O. Waage 3rd, Fellow of American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for careful measurements and a squeeze of the inscriptions. The stone is broken away at the bottom. The present height is 0.86 m. How much is broken off at the bottom cannot of course be determined. All other edges are preserved. The width at the top is 0.505 m. and at line 309, 0.51 m. The margin at the upper left is preserved and measures 0.015 m. From a measurement of all the lines preserved in the two upper inscriptions Mr. Waage calculates that the average spacing of the letters is 0.0089 m. In No. 255a, however, the average spacing of the letters in the nine lines is 0.0104 m. It is evident that this inscription must be restored with *fewer* letters to the line than Nos. 254 and 255, in both of which 53 letters constitute the normal line. If we assume the same margin for No. 255a as in the other inscriptions on the stele, and allow a very slight tapering for the lower part of the stone it is evident that each line contained not more than 47 letters spaced at 0.0104 m. The final *sigma* of ἀρχαῖρες in line 323 falls directly beneath the *alpha* of σταθμόν in line 321. We

cannot therefore restore more than 22 letters at the left before ἄρχσαντες, and since the second *lambda* of Καλλ falls directly beneath the first *eta* of the weight in line 321, there are not more than six letters missing at the right. We must not only reject the restoration of 62 letters published in the Corpus, but also that of 60 letters given by Ferguson (p. 13). It remains to determine what restoration will best suit the conditions imposed, namely a line of not more than 47 letters. No combination of 45 or 46 letters will prove satisfactory, and after various trials, I offer the following restoration with a line of 47 letters:

323 [ἦοι ἐπ' Ἀντιγένης ἄρχοντος ἄ]ρχσαντες ταμίαι : Καλλ [.....]  
 324 [..... : Φίλιππος Φιλεσίο Προσ[πάττι]  
 325 [ος.....]εὺς : Μενέστρατος Μενεσ[τράτο]  
 326 [.....Ἐλε]υσίνιος : Ἀντιφῶν Ἀντιφ[ῶντος].  
 327 [.....ῥοῖς.....]αθίο Λευκονοιεύς ἔγρα[μμάτευ-]  
 328 [εν παρέδωσαν τάδε τοῖς ταμ]ίαις Χαριάδει Χαρίο Ἀγρ[υλῆθε-]  
 329 [ν καὶ χουνάρχοσι τοῖς ἐπὶ Κ]αλλίο ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς β[ολῆς h]  
 330 [εἰ.....ἔ]γραμμάτευεν □ ἐκ τῷ Πρόνε[ο ναα.].  
 331 [στέφανος χρυσὸς : | : σταθμ]ὸν τοῦτο ΔΔΔ | | | vac.

Line 323. The aorist participle ἄρχσαντες demands the name of an archon earlier than Kallias (l. 329). I therefore restore ἐπ' Ἀντιγένης since Antigenes immediately precedes Kallias. The restoration ἐπὶ Διοκλῆος is possible so far as the spacing is concerned, but it is unlikely that treasurers of 409/8 held office continuously from 409 to 406. Mr. Waage notes that at the end of the line Καλλ, not Καλλι, is the present reading of the stone.

Line 324. The reading in the Corpus is Προβ[. Mr. Waage writes. 'There is no trace of the B. On the other hand I see part of the top slanting bar of a *sigma* and the broken surface of the stone roughly follows the line of that stroke.' This observation is most important as we must now restore the deme of Philippos as Προς[πάττιος] instead of Προβ[αλίσιος], and the identification of the chairman of the Board in IG<sup>2</sup> II 1655 with the treasurer of No. 255a must be rejected together with the arguments based on that identification (Ferguson, pp. 48 f.).

Line 327. Mr. Waage writes. 'There is a slanting stroke in the break before the Θ; there is no trace of any part of an Υ which is given in the Corpus.' We should probably read A.

The secretary of the board in the archonship of Antigenes is from Leukonoe, and therefore the fourth tribe (Leontis) held the secretaryship in 407/6. This



not only destroys the orderly cycle of rotation postulated by Ferguson (p. 9), but also eliminates an important argument for dating other documents in the period 411-406, in so far as their dates rest on the theory of orderly rotation.

- Line 328. The restoration [ἡλλενοταμ]ίαις given in the Corpus and by Ferguson is clearly impossible in a line of 47 letters. After the names of the stewards (apparently not more than seven) we should expect the verb *παρέδοσαν* which is regularly found in these prescripts. To complete the line we may restore as the object of the verb *τὰ τῆς θεῶ ταμίαις*, but I prefer the restoration given in the text. The use of the article before *ταμίαις* seems to be required.
- Line 330. The name of the secretary and his deme require 19 letters. The patronymic may have been omitted, but if not, each of the three names must be very short. At the end of the line a space of three letters was apparently left vacant. This is not unusual at the beginning of an inventory.
- Line 331. The restoration here is problematical. I assume that a space was left blank at either side of the numeral. Apparently only one item was recorded. Why did the board go to the expense of recording a crown which was no longer even in the Pronaos? I suspect that the record was left incomplete for some reason, possibly for the same reason as in the case of IG<sup>2</sup> I 304 B (Ferguson, p. 32), though it is likely that a good many of the treasures had already found their way to the mint. There is a space of 7 cm. to the broken edge at the bottom, and the original stone had plenty of room for a longer inventory, if space were needed.

It remains to consider the evidence from the point of view of our reconstruction of this inscription. The prescript does not follow the usual formula in treasure lists. The aorist participle *ἀρξάντες* in l. 323 has no parallel elsewhere. I do not know what deduction can be drawn from its use here, and I can only suggest that it is a variation of *αἱ τέτταρες ἀρχαί* which come at the end of every *penteteris*. When we come to the question of the board of treasurers we are on surer ground. The elimination of the *Hellenotamiae* from the inscription leaves two boards which are designated as *ταμίαι* without any descriptive phrase in either case. It seems to me beyond question that we are here dealing with the same board, either that of Athena or the joint board of Athena and the Other Gods. Had there been a change between the archonship of Antigones and Kallias the inscription would have

recorded it. If Ferguson is correct in claiming that no board ever used the stele of another board, then we must conclude that No. 255a belongs to the treasurers of Athena, and therefore Chariades of Agryle is chairman of this board in the archonship of Kallias (l. 329). However, it seems to me within the bounds of possibility to assume that the joint board of Athena and the Other Gods might have used the stele of the board of Athena without impropriety, especially if they were closing the account of the treasures of the Pronaos, and as a matter of record entered this inscription on the stele where the previous accounts of the Pronaos were kept. If so we should have to assume that the consolidation of the boards took place prior to the archonship of Antigenes. I do not think that this is the case. In the archonship of Antigenes there were at the most seven members of the board. Had the joint board just been created, it would undoubtedly have had a full quota of members.

The dating of a *paradosis* by a senate prytany (l. 329) is unparalleled in other documents of this kind. I do not know what conclusions may be drawn from this method of dating. Were the Panathenaia not held this year? Or does the phrase ἐκ τοῦ Πρύτανος instead of the usual ἐν τοῖς Πρύτανι imply that the Senate authorized the transfer of the treasures in the Pronaos at this time? I am inclined to think that the latter is the case. The state was in need of funds, and most of the treasures went to the mint. After this year the Pronaos ceased to be a depository of the treasurers.

Two facts clearly emerge from this study of No. 255a. 1) There was no change in the boards of treasurers of the Pronaos between 407/6 and 406/5. I believe that these were the treasurers of Athena and that this board continued to function until the end of the archonship of Kallias. I might here interject another possibility, namely that in the course of that year the boards were joined because of the economic situation, but I do not think it likely. 2) The rotation of the tribes in the secretaryship of the board was certainly not followed in 407/6. Either it was not observed at any time between 411 and 405, or we must assume that the cycle was broken at least twice during that period. Since the internal politics of Athens at this time offers no reasonable pretext for a break in the cycle, I am inclined to believe that the orderly rotation of the tribes in the matter of appointing the secretary was not followed in these years.

Can we date the amalgamation of the boards of Athena and of the Other Gods with the new evidence? Here Ferguson's brilliant identification of IG<sup>2</sup> II 1686 (pp. 77 ff.) as the accounts of treasurers for two successive years is invaluable. I do not see any possibility of questioning his identification or his date. The same board was therefore in office for the years 405-403. Now in 403/2 the treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods took over

the inventory from their predecessors (IG<sup>2</sup> 1370, 1371), and the presumption is that the consolidated board held office in the preceding year. No. 1686 therefore is the record of the activities of that board for 405-3. The testimony of Andocides (I. 77), who quotes a decree of 405/4 in which the consolidated board is mentioned, may now be accepted as trustworthy. I therefore date the act of consolidation in the beginning of that year.

The changes involved in the chronology of the period by my restoration of No. 255a will not, however, invalidate Ferguson's very important contributions to the economic history of the period. His study of the inventories of the Parthenon and Hekatompedon is a great step forward in solving epigraphical problems. Possibly some readjustment of his chronology of these documents may be necessary because of the evidence now furnished by No. 255a, but this will not affect the main conclusions. His identification of No. 1686 and his interpretation of its content are a brilliant contribution to economic history.

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*Martial, Épigrammes.* Tome I (Livres I-VII). Texte Établi et Traduit par H. J. IZAAC. Paris, 1930. Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres". Pp. XL + 272.

It is a pleasure to welcome a new edition of Martial so thoroughly and competently prepared as is that of M. Izaac in the *Collection des Universités de France*, published under the patronage of the Association Guillaume Budé. The book under review is the first volume of a two-volume work and contains the text of the *Liber Spectaculorum* and Books I-VII of the Epigrams, together with a substantial introduction, a translation in French prose, and both critical and explanatory notes. All parts of the book make contributions of value to a better understanding of the Roman epigrammatist and his work.

The introduction (pp. V-XL) treats of the epigram as a type, Martial's life, the contents, tone, and structure of his epigrams, and manuscripts, editions, and translations of the poet. Among redeeming traits in Martial's character Izaac emphasizes with Gallic fervor his tenderness and love of children. Though he professes (p. XXVII) to adopt Friedlaender's chronology for the epigrams (as do most others) Izaac assigns the joint publication of Books I-II to the year 84 or 85, whereas Friedlaender's conclusion is 85/86. In his bibliographical observations he is generously international; and he speaks with special favor of the English translation of W. C. A. Ker as "superior to all its predecessors" (p. XXXVII).

His own translation shows high merit, keeping close to the text without loss of elegance, and preserving to a high degree the *qualités essentielles* of the original as the writer hoped it would (p. XXXVIII). Obscene passages, sometimes toned down, are turned into French like the rest. I have noted only one slip on the part of the translator: in III, 73 *Phoebus* appears in the text but "Gallus" (a *varia lectio*) in the translation.

The explanatory notes are found either at the foot of the page of translation or, when space is lacking there, in an appendix (pp. 241-271) at the end of the volume. They waste few words. Some are especially valuable as being new to annotated editions of Martial; such is the commentary (based on Housman) on the Sattia of III, 93, 20; another instance is the incorporation of Heraeus' note on IV, 64, 16 (*virgineo cruore*). The discussions on Naevia (I, 68), Tarentos (I, 69), and *fererat . . . deos* (I, 76, 6) are also typical of the editor's sane and scholarly treatment of obscure passages.

But it is, perhaps, in his treatment of the text itself that Izaak has rendered his best service to the study of Martial, though he disarms the reader at the start (p. XXXVIII) by asserting that he has based his text on the excellent edition of Lindsay with but few variations. A careful reading will soon prove this disclaimer to be entirely too modest. Since the appearance of Lindsay's text (in 1902) there have been published several critical editions of Martial, notably that of Heraeus in 1925; and others, notably Housman and Friedrich, have worked independently at the text. Of all this Izaak is well aware, and he has made use of his knowledge to good advantage. His adopted text follows quite faithfully the reading of the better manuscripts, and when emendations are incorporated they are indicated by the use of italicized letters. When he chooses to adopt a reading different from Lindsay's he is likely to justify his course in the *apparatus criticus* (as, e. g., at VI, 21, 3). At critical points, especially where *cruces* are left in the text (e. g., *Spect.* 4, 3, and 19, 3), the *apparatus* becomes fuller, and more satisfactory, than Lindsay's. The result is a reasonably sound text of Martial and, in my opinion, one of the very best that we have.

There is space for only a few examples of Izaak's departures from Lindsay, usually for the better. From Housman he adopts *ursam elisuram* of *Spect.* 21 b, 2; *mitratorum* of II, 36, 3; the brilliant *si Sattiae* of III, 93, 20; *Quid tu tot* (and the punctuation) of VII, 34, 8; *tristities* (thus eliminating Lindsay's *crux*) of VII, 47, 6; and *Prisco* of VII, 79, 3. Of Heraeus, of course, he has made extensive use. With him he has gone over to the readings of the  $\beta$  group of manuscripts in I, 76, 3 (*cantusque choroque*); IV, 55, 21 (*Turasiaequae*); VII, 17, 9 (*dedicata*);

and VII, 87, 9 (*Labyrtae*); he likewise agrees with him at III, 24, 2 (*focis*) and accepts his emendation *Cadilla* (for *Glaucilla*) in VII, 87, 7. In *Spect.* 15, 8 he makes use of Schneidewin's *tandem* to eliminate another *crux* of Lindsay, and avoids a hiatus in III, 3, 4 by adopting the same editor's *aut tu tunicata*. From Wagner he takes *quis* (and the punctuation) for I, 67, 2; from Friedlaender *tui* (for the manuscripts' *times*) in II, 46, 8; *nec me puta* of III, 26, 5 from Madvig; *an possim* of III, 32, 1 from Heraldus; *secat* (IV, 54, 10) from Schryver and Heinsius; *ruptas* (VII, 47, 8) from Gronovius. In IV, 64, 4, with the  $\gamma$  group and Gilbert and Friedlaender, he reads *imminent* (for *eminent*) and translates the line thus: "*De vastes terrasses abritées dominant nos collines.*" In III, 16 and 99 *Cerdo* appears as a proper name but in III, 59, on the other hand, as a common noun (*cerdo*).

The editor's own emendations are few. The simple change of *flammarisve* to *flammativae* ("*à des victimes des incendies*") in V, 19, 12 is one that gives intelligible meaning to a troublesome passage. The concluding line of VII, 36 is made interrogative to good effect. But the reading *Quid? sobria* of II, 73, which Izaac in his *apparatus criticus* notes as his, is at least as early as Schrevel's edition of 1670 and was retained by Lemaire in 1825.

The only serious fault to be found with this edition is its defective printing. Without making a special search I noted *halassionem* for *thalassionem* (III, 93, 25), the curious deformity *sol 3-96* for *sola fax* (III, 93, 27), *uxuria* for *luxuria* (V, 19, 13), *Sattire* for *Sattiae* (in the critical note to III, 93, 20), and minor misprints on pp. XXII, XXIX, XXXVII, 12, 39, 160, 220, 243, 258. But these are blemishes that can easily be remedied in a second edition. The core of the work is sound.

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*Les Épigrammes de Martial.* Tome Premier (Spectacles et Livres I à VII); Tome Deuxième (Livres VIII à XIV et Pièces Douteuses). Texte établi, traduit et annoté par Pierre Richard. Paris, 1931. Librairie Garnier Frères. Pp. XIX + 512 + 492.

M. Richard's two volumes belong to the new French series *Classiques Garnier* which in size, binding, and internal arrangement approximates our own Loeb Classical Library. After an introduction there follow Latin text and French prose translation on verso and recto, respectively, and at the end of each volume are explanatory notes (numbered consecutively from 1

to 1413 and from 1 to 1232). A bibliography appears at the end of Volume I, but textual notes and indices are lacking.

This edition of Martial has grave faults. They are explained in large part by the editor's slavish dependence upon Nisard's work (1842), based in turn upon Lemaire's text (1825), about which H. J. Izaac (in the introduction of his recent edition, p. XXXIV) has spoken the *mot juste*: "*se manifestait plus de fantaisie que de science*." Richard has not hesitated to follow Nisard rather closely in his text, his translation, his titles (both Latin and French), and his notes. Examples of this adherence would fill a small volume. There are numerous instances, however, where he asserts his independence, especially in Books I-VII, where he has the help of Izaac, to whom he pays fitting tribute (p. XIII); but his independent judgment is not always to be trusted. Sometimes his allegiance is divided, as in VII, 87, where he takes over *lagalopece* (line 1) from Izaac but keeps Nisard's *Glacilla* (?) and *Labycae* (9). In fact, his devotion to Nisard's readings of proper names (e. g., in II, 57, 7; V, 12, 2; VI, 58, 2; VII, 54, 8; XI, 90, 4; XII, 95, 1; etc.) seems almost sacred. This leads him to print *Granum* in IV, 55, 2 for the manuscripts' *Gaium* (most editors' *Caïum*), making it a river instead of a mountain, in spite of the *senem Caïum nivibus* of I, 49, 5. In VII, 92, 10 he uses Izaac's text (*si quid opus*) but keeps Nisard's translation. In the text of II, 36, 3 he takes, from Izaac, Housman's *mitratorum*, but in the note (p. 433) he keeps the old *mitrarum*. Nisard's *Apollonius*, which he retains, is unmetrical in V, 21, 2; so is his own *putas* in XI, 58, 2; the unmetrical *qui* (for *quia*) of XII, 39, 1 is probably a misprint, as the translation would seem to show. In I, 70 (69), 2 he reads *Terentus* (for *Tarentos*) as does no one else. In trying his hand at emending a troublesome passage (XII, 59, 9) he resorts to adding a new word, *semioculus*, to the Thesaurus; he translates it "*un louche*" ("squint-eyed"). This is more commendable than his orthography, which is inconsistent and not always the best. Thus we have the spelling *cocus* in three passages (I, 50, 1; VI, 39, 7; VI, 60, 8) but *coquus* everywhere else; *maeret* in IX, 7 (5), 5 and *maeroris* in II, 11, 10 but *moeret* in XIV, 216, 2; *colossum* in II, 77, 3 but *colosson* in VIII, 44, 7. *Scriptula* and *jam* appear regularly.

These examples will suffice. Such vagaries need not be tolerated when so many better editions of Martial are available.

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Études Baltiques. By LOUIS HJELMSLEV. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1932. Pp. xi + 272.

This doctoral dissertation consists of two studies in Baltic phonology. The first, "La Métatonie", deals with the Primitive Baltic process which caused alternation in the intonation of non-final syllables of words etymologically related, such as *ēdu* : *ēdesis*, *vārna* : *varnas*. Although this process did not take place once for all but sprang up rather at various periods in the history of the Baltic dialects, the author confines himself to a consideration of the oldest phase, which he denominates "*la métatonie primitive*." With the aid of most of the Lithuanian, Lettish and Old Prussian dictionaries that have been published, he attempts to disengage the primitive word stock from later accretions and to show how the action of "metatony" has affected it. Before the disappearance of the intonation in unaccented syllables, every accented syllable assumed the intonation of the immediately following syllable. Further, a more general and inclusive rule can be formulated whenever short and unaccented *i* or *u* followed the affected syllable in Primitive Baltic. In these cases, every such syllable, whether accented or not, receives level intonation (in Lithuanian accented syllables denoted by -).

In the second study, called "La Monophthongaison", the author endeavors to prove that the theory of "vocalic harmony" set up by his master, Professor Holger Pedersen, is preferable to the hypotheses propounded by Mahlow, Endzelin, Jaunius, and Hirt. In the Letto-Lithuanian period, and thus at a much later time than that established for the action of primitive metatony, the diphthongs *ai* (from IĒ \*oi, \*ai, \*ɔi) and *ei* (from IĒ \*ei) became *ē*, unless a vowel (either *i* or *ū*) having the same degree of aperture as the second element of the diphthongs *ai*, *ei* was contained in the immediately succeeding syllable. Much later, this monophthong *ē* suffered a fracture to *ie*; indeed, not until the beginning of the 19th century did the *pronunciation* of *ie* finally become that of a diphthong instead of a monophthong. It is for this reason that the development of *ai* > *iai* > *iei* > *ie* and of *ei* > *iei* > *ie*, as supposed by Meillet and Gauthiot, is rejected by Hjelmlev and that Brugmann's theory that *ai* and *ei* > *ę* > *ē* > *ie* is adhered to.

As is to be expected from the nature of the problems attacked, the number of exceptions is extremely large. Analogical levelling, the influence of dominant types, the spreading of a category beyond its ancient limits, the late birth of a word family, the confusion of themes, these and other causes for the refusal of a word or a group of words to conform to the established formulae

are all discussed in great detail. But even loan words, brought into Lithuanian or Lettish in historical times, are somewhat needlessly treated in various places under the numerous "*cas contraires*."

More complete proof of the hypotheses maintained in the two studies would probably have been available had it been possible to make use of an etymological dictionary of the Lithuanian language. The excellent but still unfinished *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* of Mühlenbach and Endzelin could not, of course, supply this lack. And the existing dictionaries of Lithuanian, besides being limited in the main to words occurring in one section or the other of Lithuania, are often not wholly reliable as regards accentuation. But with the meagre means at his disposal, the author has apparently succeeded in clarifying the very difficult subject of metatony and in at least opening the way for further study of the relation between ai and ei on the one hand and ie on the other.

The book is supplied with a table of analogical influences, an index of the word families studied, an index of suffixes, and, finally, a summary of approximately five pages written in Danish.

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*Platonische Liebe.* Von CONSTANTIN RITTER. Tübingen, Buchdruckerei des Tübinger Studentenwerks, 1931. Pp. 92. 8°. M. 2.60.

This is a translation of Plato's Symposium followed by an explanatory essay. Professor Ritter sets the tone of his essay by saying that the entire Symposium is preponderantly poetry and not philosophical investigation. I think (and it seems that Professor Ritter, too, admits it) that a true and sufficient summary of this interpretation is the sentence quoted on page 70 from I. Plenge: "Weil Plato kein Moralprediger ist, sondern der reiche geistige Dichter dem nichts Menschliches fremd ist, führt er den Zauberweg zur letzten Erkenntniss durch alle Möglichkeiten die er sieht, um eine einmal bestehende Sitte wenigstens zu veredeln oder vertieft zu erfassen."

A large part of the originality of the essay consists in the development of the theme that Goethe's "Faust" is an exemplification of what Plato meant by *Eros*. Schiller's "Don Carlos", too, is an avatar of the daimon of Diotima's speech. I cannot feel that these comparisons are any more helpful than the statement that Goethe is spiritually closer to Plato than is any character known to Professor Ritter. It is not sound method,



surely, to postulate this equation and then by proving a characteristic of Goethe to take it for proved that the same was a quality of Plato. Yet this is done in the "Supplement" to the essay. It is the more unfortunate because Professor Ritter can maintain his case without such doubtful methods.

In this "Supplement" there is an acute refutation of Lagerborg's imputation of mysticism to Plato. Throughout the essay are to be found excellent remarks on various topics of Platonic interpretation, as for example the statement that of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful no one can be subordinated to either of the others as means to end.

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Sylla, ou la monarchie manquée. By J. CARCOPINO. Paris, L'Artisan du Livre, 1931. Pp. 245, 1 table. Paper, 20 fr.

In this stimulating book, which will be especially useful as a commentary on Cicero's *Pro Roscio*, CARCOPINO opposes the traditional view of Sulla on several counts. (1) He regards Sulla as belonging to the fringe of the nobility, having little in common with its leaders, and certainly not devoted to the aristocratic cause. We must remember Sulla's sad experience of democratic rule, however, in considering his views on government during his later years, whether or not he was born to the inner circle of the oligarchy. Cicero's *Pro Roscio Amerino* shows that his victory on his return from the East was still regarded more than two years later as the victory of the nobility (see 16, 135, 141-2).

(2) The second proposition is that Sulla's legislation shows no aristocratic or conservative bias. The author is here preparing the ground for his contention that Sulla considered himself king, and attempts to prove that his legislation purposed not to set up a government that could function without a dictator and secure from popular folly, but to weaken all classes before his own power. The argument will probably not convince every reader.

(3) Not only did Sulla regard himself as king, says CARCOPINO, but the ancient authors speak of him as king or tyrant. The authors quoted are Cicero, Plutarch, and Appian. Allowing for figurative language in Cicero and the different race and period of the other two, all we gather from reading the passages is that Sulla acted in an arbitrary and un-Roman manner while he was dictator. His contact with eastern customs is probably responsible for many of his un-Roman measures and attitudes,

for example his despotic attitude toward the persons and property of his conquered enemies in Rome (see Cic., *de leg. agr.*, ii, 56). The coins which he issued with his own image and without EX S C to signalize his triumph (Giesecke, *Italica Numismatica*, p. 289) do smack of the autocrat, but the personal touch was necessary to guarantee the fineness of those which were destined for eastern circulation (Giesecke, p. 297); even the tyrannicide Brutus put his own image on his eastern coins. Sulla also tried to establish himself as divinely inspired, we are told, and to rest his power on his divinity. The author's chief argument misinterprets Plut., *Sulla*, VI, 10, and *Lucullus*, XXIII, 6, to mean that Sulla "... légua à son lieutenant Lucullus la recommandation de cautionner ses ordres à ses soldats par les avertissements de ses rêves." The other passages adduced show only that Sulla was unusually superstitious. It may be that the idea of absolute monarchy will account for some of his actions on his return from the East, but the definitely oligarchical cast of his legislation shows plainly that he had no permanent intention of setting himself up as monarch.

(4) The author believes that Sulla was forced to retire to private life by a coalition of the aristocracy led by the Metelli and supported by Pompey's army. The suggestion is interesting even if one believes that he had intended to retire presently. Cicero's defense of Roscius of Ameria is called the first move against Sulla and dated early in 79. Gellius, XV, 28, 3-4, shows plainly—if one reads the whole passage—that it was in 80, too early to be very significant. Further, Cicero tells us in the speech that the Metelli and the Scipiones had long been friends of Roscius' father, so that their defense of Roscius was partly, if not entirely, their duty, instead of a pure attack on Sulla. However, Sulla's cruel divorce of Metella may well outweigh a great deal of negative evidence as to the feelings of the Metelli toward him.

An examination of the biographies of the Metelli of the period shows that they were not forceful enough characters to raise the Senate against the feared dictator. We do not know when Metellus Pius, the nominal head of the family and consul in 80, left for Spain to fight Sertorius, but it probably was very early in 79, since he should have had little difficulty in raising troops, and presumably he was not in Rome during 79 to lead the insurgents. Pompey surely was not on good terms with Sulla, but we cannot be sure that he was close to the Metelli and leagued with them against Sulla. CARCOPINO dates his marriage to Mucia early in 79 by means of an unjustified emendation (p. 189, n. 6). The marriage could have taken place at any time between Aemilia's death in 81 and early in 78. The theory that the Metelli procured him the triumph

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## WILFRED PIRT MUSTARD

FEBRUARY 18, 1864—JULY 30, 1932

With deep personal sorrow and with profound professional regret I record the passing away of Wilfred Pirt Mustard,—friend, colleague, collaborator. Professor Mustard had been suffering with a chronic affection of the heart, and the end had not been unexpected, yet the news of his death came as a crushing blow.

Born in Uxbridge, Canada, he got his collegiate training at the University of Toronto, where, in 1886, he received the baccalaureate degree with a gold medal in the classics and was appointed to a fellowship, which he held for three years. From 1889-1891, he studied at the Johns Hopkins University, holding a university scholarship the first year and a fellowship the second. During these two years he served also as examiner for the University of Toronto, and in 1890 obtained from his Alma Mater the degree of Master of Arts. In 1891, after pursuing courses of study in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit under Professors Minton Warren, Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, Maurice Bloomfield, and others, and satisfying all other requirements, he was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the Johns Hopkins University.

Thus well equipped, Dr. Mustard began his professional career with a professorship of Latin in Colorado College, Colorado Springs, where he remained for two years (1891-1893). He then went to Haverford College and was instructor of Latin there for one year (1893-1894) and professor of Latin for thirteen years (1894-1907). He was then brought to the Johns Hopkins University as Collegiate Professor of Latin (1907-1919), and after the death of Professor Kirby Flower Smith he was appointed professor of Latin to share the conduct of the department with Professor Tenney Frank.

At the very outset of his career, Professor Mustard began to

publish. His doctoral dissertation was committed to print within a year after his promotion. In the following year, he issued, for the benefit of American students, a revision of an English edition of *Stories from Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Removal to Haverford with its renewals of old contacts and possibilities for new was a further spur to publication. The editor of the *American Journal of Philology* enlisted his help in the furnishing of reports of foreign periodicals and in the writing of reviews. Always a lover of literature and stimulated by the similar studies of his intimate friend Kirby Flower Smith, Professor Mustard began to devote himself to the study of the influence of the classical authors upon modern literature and issued a stream of notes, articles, and books in this field of study. As a consequence, students of modern literature frequently called upon him for the elucidation of some difficult classical allusion or for the determination of its source. When Professor Mustard joined the staff of the Johns Hopkins University, he gave courses, among others, in the history of pastoral poetry, and the fruits of these studies were published in a series of editions of works of various Renaissance writers of Latin poetry, beginning, in 1911, with the *Eclogues* of Baptista Mantuanus and closing, in 1931, with the *Eclogues* of Henrique Cayado. Death interrupted the progress of other similar publications. In recognition of his service to literature, the University of Toronto, in 1921, conferred on him the degree of D. Litt., and the Royal Virgilian Academy of Mantua, in 1922, made him a corresponding fellow.

It would not be fair to the memory of Professor Mustard not to make especial mention of the coöperation accorded by him to this *Journal*. In addition to the contribution of many original papers, he was faithful and prompt in reporting the contents of various foreign periodicals, and from 1916, certainly, his name figures as a reviewer more frequently than that of any other person. And the same loyalty and coöperative spirit that were shown by him during the editorship of Professor Gildersleeve were shown also under the present management. Since 1920, when Professor Mustard became officially a member of the coöperative staff of the *Journal*, he was always ready to examine, with a view to availability for publication, any article in his special field of study, he never failed to furnish on time his

report of the *Rivista di Filologia*, and, as intimated above, he performed more than his share of reviewing.

But Professor Mustard's activity was not limited to teaching and scholarly publication. He was often called on to read papers before classical associations and clubs, and the Baltimore Classical Club, of which he was a loyal member and counselor, is indebted to him for many an instructive and entertaining paper. He was instrumental also in interesting American scholars in the work of the Classical Association of England, and the Association rewarded him by making him a corresponding member. Professor Mustard also entered heartily into various administrative duties. He was for many years a member of the Library Committee of the Johns Hopkins University and of the Board of Collegiate Studies, and he was Secretary of the Committee on the B. S. degree. He was one of the founders of the Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine, of which he remained an associate editor till the time of his death. He was also a valued member of the Tudor and Stuart Club, and for many years served on the House Committee of the Johns Hopkins Club. Professor Mustard remained a bachelor until late in life. In 1921, he married Charlotte Rogers Smith, who survives him.

When one scans the list hereto attached of Professor Mustard's publications, one marvels at the amount of work achieved. And there was nothing hasty about Professor Mustard's work. Everything that he wrote was well-considered, and in the preparation of his manuscript or typescript he was a man after the heart of the editor. He was not given to amplification, nor to the use of superlatives. In fact, his style was free from all exuberance of expression. It was plain, but elegant, and the elegance was derived from long and close contact with that which was best in literature. He never reviewed a book without reading it. His notices were usually brief. In some respects he was an ideal reviewer. There was always an appraisal of the work reviewed and a statement of the features that were praiseworthy or otherwise. He was frank in his criticism, but fair and genial. And as he was in his work, he was in life. I honored him for his frankness, I loved him for his friendship, I admired him for his scholarship.

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\* This Bibliography was compiled under my direction by Miss Marjorie Grafflin. The items of the reviews are not in the precise form in which I should like them to be, but the exigencies of the press precluded the making of suitable alterations.—C. W. E. M.

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## THE CHARACTER OF CLYTEMNESTRA IN THE *CHOEPHOROE* AND THE *EUMENIDES* OF AESCHYLUS.

[In the *Choephoroe*, *Clytemnestra*, essentially the same character that was portrayed actively in the *Agamemnon*, is, by organic development of the trilogy, shown passively as *δύσθεος γυνή*, brought to her doom.

In the *Eumenides*, she is a disembodied wraith of vengeance, an Erinys. By thus assimilating her to the chorus in this drama, which is an apocalyptic pageant of reconciliation, the poet resolves the trilogy into a contest between the chthonic powers of an earlier religious dispensation and the "younger" Olympian deities.]

The sole extant example of an ancient dramatic trilogy deserves more study than has heretofore been spent on the devices by which the major unity of the triple strand is maintained. Each of the dramas in the *Oresteia*, being a unit in itself, focuses attention on its organic structure, and probably the majesty of the first of the three obscures the perception of it as but the first act, such as the poet must have conceived it, and such as the first audience certainly first witnessed it. To study in some detail the character of the protagonist of the first play<sup>1</sup> as

<sup>1</sup> The character of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon* I studied in detail in a paper published, *Trans. A. P. A.*, vol. LX, pp. 136-154.

To the regret that Aristotle's treatise does not include a discussion of this trilogy must be added still further the regret that he does not indicate how a satyric postlude was related to its trilogy. A study of the major unity of the *Oresteia* would have to include a discussion of the probable theme of the *Proteus*, traditionally named as the satyric drama of this tetralogy. It is not a novel idea to point out how appropriately the scene, picturesquely narrated in the *Odyssey* (iv. 351 ff.), of Proteus soothsaying about Agamemnon's fate to Menelaus, among the seals on the Egyptian island of Pharos, might be adapted

carried over into the second and third is merely to make the first plunge into an examination of the problems of the major unity.

Cassandra's prophesying is the lyric centre of the *Agamemnon*. The question why the poet chose to introduce that character is answerable, not only in terms of the artistic value to that particular drama of conformity in this detail to the Homeric tradition, but also in terms of the structural purposes of the trilogy. Her prophetic madness links the tragedy of that play, through her retrospective visions, with the dark past of the Atreid family and, by her mystic discernment of the future, with the doom to come upon her murderers. In the *Choephoroe* her prophecy is fulfilled: man atones by death for man, woman for woman,<sup>2</sup>—Aegisthus for Agamemnon, Clytemnestra for Cassandra. And, further than this, the doom comes by express command of Cassandra's prophet-god, Apollo Loxias. That her prayers to him were not in vain is proved by the *Choephoroe*, of which the theme might well be denoted *The Vengeance Of Loxias*.

The only characters that are carried over from the first to the second play of the trilogy are Aegisthus and Clytemnestra. While Orestes is named in the *Agamemnon* in such manner that he must be expected as the avenger,<sup>3</sup> Electra, whose part is vital to the second drama, is not even mentioned in the first. The subject of my present study is Clytemnestra, the protagonist of the *Agamemnon*, as characterized in the *Choephoroe* and the *Eumenides*. No major interest is directed to Aegisthus in the development of the trilogy.<sup>4</sup> An insolent braggart in the first

to the afterpiece for the Atreid tragedies. The keynote may well have been struck in the *Agamemnon* when the Argive Elders solicitously inquire of the Herald how Menelaus has fared (*Ag.* 617 ff.) and in the prominence given in the *parodos* of that play to the idea of the *twain chieftains* of the Argive host against Troy.

<sup>2</sup> *Ag.* 1317-1320.

<sup>3</sup> Cassandra prophesies Orestes as the avenger, but does not openly name him, *Ag.* 1280-1285; the chorus of the *Agamemnon* are explicit, *Ag.* 1667.

<sup>4</sup> Aeschylus does not stress the plausibility of Aegisthus' self-justification in his crime as the son of the injured Thyestes. The motive is a subordinate detail in the dramatic pattern, belonging to Cassandra's visions (*Ag.* 1095-1099). Aegisthus' own brutal allusion to the horrible

play, he is essentially a weakling used as foil to the Queen's strength. His character contributes to the same purpose in the second drama, helping also to enlist sympathy for Orestes, whom the divinely enjoined duty of matricide makes a repellent personality.

#### I. CLYTEMNESTRA IN THE *Choephoroe*.

Clytemnestra appears in two scenes<sup>5</sup> of the *Choephoroe*, briefly each time. In the first it is noteworthy that, although the disguised Orestes, knocking importunately at the gate, has called for Aegisthus,<sup>6</sup> and, in asking to see some one in authority, has suggested the lord as preferable to the lady, since so he might speak without embarrassment, man to man,<sup>7</sup> it is Clytemnestra whom the house-slave brings to greet him. The inference is that the cowardly consort habitually lies low when strangers are announced. Also the tragic irony is emphasized:—the son at the outset confronts his mother. The spectators might thrill to a sense of proper retribution when the three knocks of the avenger summon Aegisthus, but it is gruesome to see, face to face, the guilty mother and the "matricidal scion" of Cassandra's vision.<sup>8</sup> The encounter does not daunt him. Clytemnestra offers to him and his companion<sup>9</sup> all courtesy, but refers weighty matters that require sage deliberation to a masculine auditor. Her note is that of female modesty, stressed in the *Agamemnon*. Having heard his fabricated report of Orestes' death, she expresses bereavement with dignity, mourning the event as another blow from the inexorable ἀρά that persecutes the Atreid family,<sup>10</sup>

feud (*Ag.* 1580 ff.), coming from the man who had left chief part of the crime to the woman, makes the speaker despicable rather than pitiable.

<sup>5</sup> *Choeph.* 668-718 and 885-930. The text which I have used in studying the *Choephoroe* and the *Eumenides* is that used in my earlier study of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*, viz., the recension of A. Sidgwick, Oxford, 1902. I have also used freely Mr. Sidgwick's admirable annotated editions of the three plays, also Professor H. Weir Smyth's excellent edition (Greek and English), *Loeb Classical Library*, 1926.

<sup>6</sup> *Choeph.* 656.

<sup>7</sup> *Choeph.* 664-667; cf. 734-736.

<sup>8</sup> *Ag.* 1281.

<sup>9</sup> Pylades is certainly with Orestes. He speaks in reply to Orestes' appeal, *Choeph.* 900. The reading of the MSS, 713, *ἐννεμπόρους*, is quite regularly altered by editors to a singular *ἐννέμπορον*. Cf. 561-564.

<sup>10</sup> *Choeph.* 692.

but politely promises that, although messengers of sad tidings, the guests will nevertheless find sustained hospitality in the palace. She concludes with the statement that she will share the news with τοῖς κρατοῦσι δωμάτων and that, "not lacking friends, she will take counsel with reference to this misfortune."<sup>11</sup> How odd to tell a stranger that the rulers do not lack friends! The words may well indicate the contrary. By irony, and by reminiscence of the conclusion of the *Agamemnon*, they suggest in Clytemnestra and Aegisthus a lonely pair, buttressed by tyranny against the sentiments of the Argive state. She must regard the present crisis as serious, despite her own relief at the assurance that Agamemnon's son is dead. For, bereft of hope that the heir might return to re-establish the former dynasty, the intractables of the cowed state might now be exasperated to rebellion.<sup>12</sup>

The scene, short as it is, clearly shows the Queen as adequate to any situation, expected or unexpected, and flawless in dignity. That she comes at summons serves to show, as I have suggested, where the greater courage is in the usurping pair. The rulers must live under constant dread of vengeance, and the Queen's alarming dream<sup>13</sup> has lately crystallized these forebodings. The contrast is implied,—that stressed in the *Agamemnon*,—between γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ and the weak Aegisthus,<sup>14</sup> and it is heightened, here as there, by her feigned manner of womanly modesty.

The second appearance of Clytemnestra on the scene is as actual victim of her son's murderous plot. Made aware of danger, she calls immediately for an axe, to try the issue, "whether we be conquerors or conquered."<sup>15</sup> At Orestes' en-

<sup>11</sup> *Choeph.* 716-718.

<sup>12</sup> Barring Agamemnon's successors, Aegisthus would presumably have the next right to the Argive throne. To accept a tyrant as a temporary usurper might be one thing; to see in him an established monarch, quite another,—provocative of revolution.

With reference to the question, inevitably arising in a discussion of the *Oresteia*, whether Aeschylus had in mind as the place of action Argos or Mycenae, see the convincing arguments in favor of the latter city by Professor C. P. Bill, *The Location of the Palace of the Atreidae in Greek Tragedy*, Trans. A. P. A., vol. LXI, pp. 111-129.

<sup>13</sup> *Choeph.* 32 ff., 514 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Aegisthus is scornfully termed *woman*, *Choeph.* 304-305. Cf. *Ag.* 1625.

<sup>15</sup> *Choeph.* 890.

trance, her first cry is of affection for Aegisthus.<sup>16</sup> Thenceforth she is a woman begging for life, or, more subtly, a mother fearful lest her son be stained with matricide. The crisp, short dialogue has been cited as an example, incongruous under the situation, of Athenian delight in argument. I cannot feel it thus. To me there is poignancy in Orestes' halting to answer her and to justify himself. Clytemnestra repeats her plea, made in the *Agamemnon*, that Fate (*Μοῖρα*) had responsibility in her crime.<sup>17</sup> And her supple pleading with Agamemnon's son is reminiscent of her wheedling that King to walk, contrary to his better judgment, on her spread tapestries. Orestes, earlier in the drama, had steeled himself against the probability of his mother's use of cajolery.<sup>18</sup> An enigma regarding her character which the poet deliberately left unsolved in the *Agamemnon* is unriddled in this second drama, where its solution contributes to dramatic effect. Clytemnestra has actually loved Aegisthus. Her *liaison* with him was not due only to her ambition and her hatred of her husband. Orestes sharply replies to her solicitude for the slain man: *φιλεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα; τοιγὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ τάφῳ κείσει.* More than that, in the conclusion of this distich he brands her a wanton: *θανόντα δ' οὔτι μὴ προδῶς ποτε.*<sup>19</sup> And further, touching that other question raised in the *Agamemnon*, regarding the reality of her maternal affection, he refers to his exile, which she had alleged to be for purposes of protecting him from possible mob violence at home,<sup>20</sup> as a disgraceful sale of one free born.<sup>21</sup> His words here echo Electra's earlier accusation of their mother: *πεπραμένοι γὰρ νῦν γέ πως ἀλώμεθα | πρὸς τῆς τεκούσης, ἄνδρα δ' ἀντηλλάξατο | Αἰγισθον, ὅσπερ σοῦ φόνου μεταίτιος.*<sup>22</sup> To the Queen's query, put to Orestes: "At what price?" his answer is: "I am ashamed to name this plainly."<sup>23</sup> She does not deny the

<sup>16</sup> *Choeph.* 893.

<sup>17</sup> *Choeph.* 910.

<sup>18</sup> *Choeph.* 420-422. Professor Smyth assigns these lines to Electra. His distribution of parts, as between Orestes and Electra, 380-422, is exactly opposite to that of Mr. Sidgwick. See his note, 380.

<sup>19</sup> *Choeph.* 894-895.

<sup>20</sup> *Ag.* 877 ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Choeph.* 915.

<sup>22</sup> *Choeph.* 132-134. *πεπραμένοι* (132), Casaubon's emendation for *πεπραγμένοι* of M, is generally accepted.

<sup>23</sup> *Choeph.* 916-917.

implication, that a paramour's love was the price for the "sale" of a son, but, retorting, asks him: What of his father's similar follies? <sup>24</sup> But it is not so much impressive that thus she justifies herself exactly as she had done in the first play, on the score of Agamemnon's conjugal infidelity, as that here she accepts the charge of wantonness,—indeed, coarsely defends it.<sup>25</sup> In this acknowledgment of erotic weakness there is a trait prominent in the *Agamemnon*, the balefulness of the susceptible and fatally seductive Tyndarid.<sup>26</sup>

The Queen's character is revealed indirectly in various ways throughout the *Choephoroe*. Conspicuous among these, as a special device, is the introduction of the Nurse who tended Orestes in his babyhood. This scene,<sup>27</sup> the second half of the Third Episode, is the complement to that in which Clytemnestra appeared in person to welcome Orestes and Pylades. The Queen and her guests have withdrawn, and, after a short choric song, the old woman-slave enters, with orders from the Mistress to bid Master come with attendants to the interview with the strangers. Like the Watchman of the prologue to the *Agamemnon*, she is a comic figure, but here, as there, the homeliness of the individual makes more convincing the naïve innuendoes against Clytemnestra. They are the unprompted mutterings of homespun honesty, which show the Queen as detested in her household and which brand her explicitly as hypocrite in her manifestation of grief for the dead son. Moreover, in the babblings of old Cilissa's reminiscences of her nursling, a picture of sincere mourning is set in contrast to that, just witnessed, of the mother's dissembling. Cilissa adds pathos to the little

<sup>24</sup> *Choeph.* 918.

<sup>25</sup> *Choeph.* 920.

<sup>26</sup> See my study of the character of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*, cited above (note 1), *T. A. P. A.* vol. LX, on this detail, pp. 151-154. I am glad to state here a fact which I omitted there. Mr. Sidgwick, in his Introduction to his annotated text of the *Choephoroi*, p. x (Oxford, 1900), remarks that Stesichorus of Himera, on the authority of an earlier lyric poet, accounts for her relation to Aegisthus by a curse imposed in anger by Aphrodite on Tyndareus, by which his three daughters—Helen, Timandra, Clytemnestra—were conjugally unfaithful.

Euripides possibly is suggesting the Tyndarid glamour in introducing Castor and Polydeuces at the end of his *Electra*.

<sup>27</sup> *Choeph.* 734-782.

whiff of comedy which her entrance brings. The audience is meant to suspect that Clytemnestra is as false in her motherhood as she was in her wifehood when she welcomed Agamemnon with soft words.

Another servant, whose horror at the death of Aegisthus and solicitude to summon aid suggest partisanship with the usurpers, also reveals dislike of Clytemnestra. "Her neck next," is the gist of his homely phrasing, "and justly so."<sup>28</sup>

Up to the time of her murder, the case against her as δύσθεος γυνή<sup>29</sup> is made heavy. The poet's art is concerned with swinging sympathy toward Orestes so that deliberate matricide will be a believable crime. To the indirect strokes which contribute effectively to the dark portrait of her in the *Choephoroë* belongs the sustained hatred expressed by the chorus.<sup>30</sup> The women of this play, as well as the Elders of the preceding, would be at one with John Knox in deploring the "monstrous regimen of a woman."<sup>31</sup> But it is not only to Clytemnestra's unwomanly masterfulness that they object. Their aversion is rooted in the thought of her as an impious criminal. As defined in the *Agamemnon*, she is to their view χώρας μίσμα καὶ θεῶν ἐγχαρίων.<sup>32</sup> The action of the second drama turns on the idea that her libation, of which they are bearers, sent by her in response to the ominous dream as a belated appeasement to the shade of Agamemnon, is, of sheer necessity, ritually and ethically, unacceptable. As soon as Orestes is recognized in the stranger who has miraculously arrived at the moment of this offering, the women of the chorus enter actively into his plot to kill the Rulers.<sup>33</sup> To make the ambush against Aegisthus more certain of success, they persuade old Cilissa to alter the message from the Queen so that the Consort may go without attendants to meet the strangers.<sup>34</sup> The first *stasimon*<sup>35</sup> has for theme the

<sup>28</sup> *Choeph.* 883-884.

<sup>29</sup> *Choeph.* 46, 525. (Cf. 191.) It is rather interesting to note that Aegisthus uses the epithet (δύσθεος) of Atreus, *Ag.* 1590-1591.

<sup>30</sup> *Choeph. passim.* Note especially 386-392.

<sup>31</sup> *Choeph.* 629-630. See my study of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*, *op. cit.* pp. 140-141.

<sup>32</sup> *Ag.* 1644-1645. Study of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*, *op. cit.* p. 146.

<sup>33</sup> *Choeph.* 264 ff.

<sup>34</sup> *Choeph.* 766-782.

<sup>35</sup> *Choeph.* 585-652. A double theme is stated, 594-598, of which the

domestic horrors wrought by eroticism in women. Althaea, Scylla, the Lemnian murderesses, and—unnamed—Clytemnestra:—these are the examples of *θηλυκρατής ἀπέρωτος ἔρως*.<sup>36</sup> The song impales Clytemnestra by implication as slave to the fascination of Aegisthus. In the terms of my idea earlier expressed, she is in this lyric interpreted as the *Tyndarid*, a fatal woman. It is to be noted, as important to the artistic effect of the tragedy, that this song has scarcely ceased when Orestes knocks and, very soon, Clytemnestra comes to meet that summons.

Aeschylus named this play *The Libation-Bearers*. The drama is, quite literally, concerned with the awful effects of offering an impious libation. The bearers, hostile to the sender, instruct Electra in ritual words which devote it actually to the destruction of that sender. The results of that curse which rests upon Clytemnestra as the miasma of the Argive state, making her incapable of participating in religious rites of the country, might be "rationalized" in ordinary human statement thus:—because she is dominated by her weak paramour, she has been unable to hold in leash his tyrannical insolence and therefore has reaped with him hatred from her children, her household, and the state. To identify Clytemnestra's motives with those of Aegisthus is skilfully to direct toward her all the hatred which the inmates of the palace might feel toward him. As I have indicated, the idea of matricide is thus relieved of some of its intolerable horror in that portion of the play where it is necessary to keep the sympathy of the spectators with Orestes. The sole appearance of the braggart usurper on the scene<sup>37</sup> shows him as a hypocrite in expressing grief at the report of the heir's death and a boaster in speaking contemptuously of the timorous credulity of women. His entrance is set between lyric cries of hatred, the second and third *stasima*.<sup>38</sup>

first part is *ὑπέρτολμον ἀνδρὸς φρόνημα*. But the stress throughout the *stasimon* is on that of the second part, namely, that which I have quoted above in the text of my study. Psychologically, the two would belong together in a masterful individuality like Clytemnestra's.

<sup>36</sup> *Choeph.* 599-600.

<sup>37</sup> *Choeph.* 838-854.

<sup>38</sup> *Stas.* II, 783-837; *Stas.* III, 855-868. Or might one better call lines 855-868 not a *stasimon*, with Mr. Sidgwick, but a lyric interlude, comparable to the "short choric song," 719-729, which separates the exhibition of Clytemnestra's bereavement from that of old Cilissa?



The Scholiast's conjecture<sup>39</sup> that the chorus is composed of Trojan captives might well be defended by the idea of vengeance for Cassandra as the prime motive behind the drama. The chorus speak of themselves as captives;<sup>40</sup> Electra addresses them as women house-servants;<sup>41</sup> they refer to their ritual as Asiatic in type.<sup>42</sup> The echoes of the Trojan War are numerous in the *Agamemnon*,<sup>43</sup> which takes title from the conqueror of Troy and has for protagonist Helen's sister. In the *Choephoroe*, the chorus, just before the slaying of Clytemnestra, find moral reassurance in the idea of just retribution, stating three grand examples of heaven's justice: on the Priamidae, on Agamemnon, on the murderers of Agamemnon.<sup>44</sup> It is significant, I think, that they thus relate the Atreid tragedies to the doom of Troy, and the fact, fitting well in the scheme of major unity for the trilogy, may, without undue pressure, be made an argument for the Trojan ancestry of these women. Proponents of the opposite theory might, indeed, point out that in these choric lines solicitude for the welfare of "master's house" is prominent<sup>45</sup> and urge this as an incongruous emotion in persons who had become property of this house by mischance of war. But the *stasimon* is celebrating the relief of the household from recent oppressive tyranny. Naturally then, the co-partners of Electra's wrongs would identify their interests with those of the rightful dynasts. It should be remembered also that Cassandra, as a captive, was not hostile to *Agamemnon*. She suffered a travail of prophecy in foretelling his fate,<sup>46</sup> checking herself to wonder why Priam's daughter mourned the doom of the Argive leader.<sup>47</sup> It seems

<sup>39</sup> *Schol.*, *Choeph.* 75.

<sup>40</sup> *Choeph.* 75-77.

<sup>41</sup> *Choeph.* 84.

<sup>42</sup> *Choeph.* 423-428.

<sup>43</sup> Note especially the famous *parodos*, *Ag.* 40 ff.; first *stasimon*, 355 ff., of which the theme is *Iliupersis* as a judgment on the sin of Paris; second *stasimon*, 681 ff., devoted to destructive Helen; third *stasimon*, 975 ff., filled with forebodings for those just returned from Troy; the choric anapaests, 1331-1342, preluding Agamemnon's murder and extolling him as Troy's captor. Cassandra herself in this play is a piteous type of the woes of *Iliupersis*.

<sup>44</sup> *Choeph. Stas.* IV, 935-972.

<sup>45</sup> Note especially *Choeph.* 942-945.

<sup>46</sup> *Ag.* 1256 ff.; *cf.* 1223-1241, also 1100 ff.

<sup>47</sup> *Ag.* 1286-1290.

to me that, just as the Elders of the *Agamemnon* reflect the outraged majesty of the state, so the Women who bear the Libation in the second drama reflect, not only the neglected Princess who shares their religious errand, but also their compatriot Princess, whom Loxias now is about to avenge. Their exultation after the accomplished retribution,<sup>48</sup> although marked by womanly shrinking from bloodshed, chimes appropriately with the fulfilment of the prophecy that a woman shall die for a woman—more poignantly from the lips of Trojans than from those of women of another nation. Shortly before the end of the play, they gravely commend Orestes for his deed.<sup>49</sup> As the Argive Elders predicted, Clytemnestra, bereft of friends, has paid, blow for blow.<sup>50</sup> The Argive state is free from the tyranny of "two serpents."

It is odd, indeed, that Electra is not even mentioned in the *Agamemnon*. Is this omission deliberately intended by Aeschylus to cast doubt on Clytemnestra's maternal solicitude, there expressed for Iphigenia and Orestes? Plainly in his trilogy there is thought of but three children of the union of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra:—Iphigenia, Electra; Orestes.<sup>51</sup> Since he must have had in mind that the other daughter was to be prominent in the second play, may not silence about her in the first convey the idea that she has small place in her mother's affection? At all events, her character emerges in startling relief in the *Choephoroë*. She, the neglected and despised daughter, is here a major indictment against Clytemnestra and, as such, is a source for the indirectly drawn portrait of the latter.

The accusation against the "Rulers" with respect to Electra is not of actual abuse, but rather of callous neglect. Sophocles and Euripides chose to give different emphasis. I find Aeschylus' conception in this detail consonant with my interpretation of his delineation of Clytemnestra as not all hypocrite in her maternity. Ambition and eroticism have bred the habit of negligence of maternal ties. It is not a necessary inference that

<sup>48</sup> *Choeph.* 931-934 and the *stasimon* immediately following, 935-972.

<sup>49</sup> *Choeph.* 1044-1047.

<sup>50</sup> *Ag.* 1429-1430.

<sup>51</sup> Note especially *Choeph.* 235-245. The children of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra mentioned in the *Iliad* (IX, 144-145) are Chrysothemis, Laodice, and Iphianassa. Sophocles uses Chrysothemis as a foil to Electra.

Clytemnestra has never loved her children.<sup>52</sup> Aeschylus' drama is not an *Electra*. Orestes is here the active avenger, in purpose as well as deed. Of the three extant dramatic versions, his gives the simplest presentation of the probable state of things within that Argive household. Every murderer, from the beginning of time, has had to get on as best he might after his deed. Apart from the idea of religious sanctions, just how would a mother,—lacking the motive behind the Cenci murder,—treat, after the event, the daughter of the slain husband? Usurpers are generally under necessity to rule by tyranny. Without imputation of physical abuse, Aeschylus knows how to make Electra's attitude toward her mother pathetically plausible.

It is of religious significance, important to the poet's whole plan for his trilogy, that Electra is, literally, the only person in the palace who, being of Agamemnon's blood, pure of fault toward him, and ritually clean, can pour libation at his tomb.<sup>53</sup> Her quandary<sup>54</sup> is to choose words which can conceivably speed such a libation. To say, "These from a dear wife to a dear husband," or to pray that the dead requite the gift—either seems monstrous under the circumstances. Or shall she pour in silence, "as Father died"? She identifies her feeling with that of the women of the chorus in the line, *κοινὸν γὰρ ἔχθρος ἐν δόμοις νομίζομεν*,<sup>55</sup> and in prayer to her father refers to her humiliation in the household, *κάγώ μὲν ἀντίδουλος*,<sup>56</sup> having just before cited Orestes' exile as the price paid<sup>57</sup> by their mother for the mating with Aegisthus. The coryphaeus has counseled her to mention, while she pours the libation, as persons friendly to the dead man, herself and "whoever hates Aegisthus."<sup>58</sup> Supplicating her father, she adds to a petition for the return of Orestes one for a boon to herself: that she may be more chaste and more pious of hand than her mother.<sup>59</sup> A little later she characterizes that parent as a 'godless travesty of motherhood.'<sup>60</sup> In the passionate

<sup>52</sup> Note Orestes' words of his mother, *Choeph.* 999-1001. (These lines are numbered 991-993 in Professor Smyth's text.) *Of. Ag.* 886.

<sup>53</sup> Electra appears in the *Choephoroe*, 84-560.

<sup>54</sup> *Choeph.* 87-100.

<sup>55</sup> *Choeph.* 101.

<sup>56</sup> *Choeph.* 135. *Of.* 445, *ἄτιμος, οὐδὲν ἀξία.*

<sup>57</sup> See above, note 22.

<sup>58</sup> *Choeph.* 111.

<sup>59</sup> *Choeph.* 138-141.

<sup>60</sup> *Choeph.* 190-191, *ἐμὴ δὲ μήτηρ, οὐδαμῶς ἐπώνυμον | φρόνημα παισὶ δόσθεον πεπαμένη.*

excitement of her recognition of Orestes, her hate for Clytemnestra is openly expressed. In the midst of that yearning cry to the brother who must for her fill the place of all kindred,—dead father, dead sister, impious mother,—she declares the awful truth: ἡ δὲ πανδίκως ἐχθαίρεται.<sup>61</sup> In the *kommos*,<sup>62</sup> which she and Orestes share with the chorus, her antagonism to Clytemnestra flares. This powerful section of the drama is a lyric prayer addressed, with clearly defined purpose, although with intervals of shrinking from the idea of its awful purport, to the murdered King, associated with Olympian and chthonic deities, to take vengeance on his murderers. Here is the grimmest of all the details by which Clytemnestra's portrait is indirectly drawn, namely, the account, given by Electra and the chorus jointly to Orestes, of the dishonoring burial of Agamemnon.<sup>63</sup> Not only were fitting rites omitted, while Electra was locked in her room to prevent her from public manifestation of proper grief, but the body was mutilated. To Greek religious thought, the negligence of certain funeral ceremonies did an actual injury to the dead man. Even more terrible in this instance would have been the further physical insult to the corpse, designed, as usually interpreted, to cripple the shade. Gruesomely, indeed, the triumphant Clytemnestra of the *Agamemnon* had fulfilled her exultant promise: πρὸς ἡμῶν | κάππεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν | οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων.<sup>64</sup>

In the perpetration of the two retributive murders Electra takes no part, although she has prayed to kill Aegisthus.<sup>65</sup> Orestes assumes the full burden of action.<sup>66</sup> But son and daughter together, by their prayer to their father, have necessarily doomed their mother. An appeal to supernatural powers must be effective. Orestes, brought up away from home and under a current social notion of the filial duty of vendetta, which, by the oracle of Apollo, has in his case been exalted to a definite command, might perform the horrible act of matricide as an abstraction. That Electra, reared in household touch with her mother, is ready to have it done is a terrible indictment of Clytemnestra, more starkly impressive because the poet has not labored to make the motive "reasonable" by fullness of detail

<sup>61</sup> *Choeph.* 241.<sup>62</sup> *Choeph.* 306-478.<sup>63</sup> *Choeph.* 430-450.<sup>64</sup> *Ag.* 1552-1554.<sup>65</sup> *Choeph.* 481-482.<sup>66</sup> *Choeph.* 554 ff.

regarding abusive treatment meted out to the daughter. Masterful, seductive, revengeful,—such in epitome was the Clytemnestra drawn in the *Agamemnon*. The second play does not show her changed in these respects. But here Aeschylus adds the impression that through inevitable development, as a sequence to her crime, she has become *hateful*. She is, ethically as well as ritually, *δύσθεος γυνή*.

The title of the play is itself an important detail of the major unity. The drama devoted to the retribution visited on Clytemnestra as a person under religious curse takes its name from the innocent bearers of her impious libation. That offering literally becomes a chthonic force directed against her as hatred incarnate in the persons of its bearers, presumably Cassandra's compatriots, and in the persons of the two who dedicate it, the sender's own children.

When this *δύσθεος γυνή* is about to die by her son's sword, the poet contrives in that short, grim scene described above to swing some sympathy toward her. He is preparing for the third play of his strand, in which Orestes must be a culprit whose vindication is an object of divine contention. The trilogy runs on the idea of spiritual cause and effect. Not only has the vengeance of Loxias been accomplished through the mechanism of the ritual curse whereby Clytemnestra meets her doom, but also in the third drama, the *Eumenides*, there will be an apocalypse of the supernatural powers implicated in these human destinies.

## II. CLYTEMNESTRA IN THE *Eumenides*.

The *Agamemnon* has shown as active the masterful Tyndarid, the *Choephoroe* as, in a sense, passive, that is as the *δύσθεος γυνή* brought to her doom. In both of these plays she is a very real individual.

In the *Eumenides* she appears for a brief space,<sup>87</sup> but merely as an *εἰδωλον*. She is thus not a flesh and blood character, but a figment of vindictive hatred, that thing made visible that haunts the remorseful and insane imagination of Orestes. As I have suggested, this play is an apocalyptic vision. The material veil of the universe has been drawn aside,<sup>88</sup> so that we may

<sup>87</sup> *Eum.* 94-139.

<sup>88</sup> Mr. Sidgwick, instead of a veil withdrawn, thinks of the stage as "lifted, so to say, from earth to heaven." See his *Introduction* to his

see the divine beings already involved in the action of the trilogy. Certainly through Cassandra in the *Agamemnon* Aeschylus has presented the idea that the spiritual world interpenetrates the material, and the poignant lyric cries in the *Choephoroe* to the dead King and to deities of earth and heaven have keyed the audience to expectation of some august epiphany. Orestes and the wraith of Clytemnestra are the only personalities carried over from the *Choephoroe*. Since the mother is here a ghost, the only human character carried over is that of Orestes, and, as a matter of fact, he is the only human character in the *Eumenides*, barring the Pythian priestess, who speaks the prologue, and the group of Athenian citizens convened to vote on his case. The former is an official symbol of the Delphic oracle, and the latter, a mute conclave, symbolize the court of justice which they represent. Orestes thus is left as a lonely human figure. The only *dramatis persona* carried throughout the trilogy is Clytemnestra. It belongs to the poet's idea of the "conclusion of the whole matter" as an apocalyptic spectacle that in the final play she is a disembodied wraith.

Indeed, she is a kind of Erinyes, a ghostly incarnation of the shed drops of maternal blood, hounding the slayer. It is out of this primitive conception of blood-guilt that the religious idea of independently existing Erinyes, a definite band of avengers, seems to have grown.<sup>69</sup> The word itself rings rather frequently

annotated text, p. 15. To me, the metaphor which I have instinctively chosen is more exact. Heretofore the divine figures had been present as potent forces in the action, but invisible.

<sup>69</sup> An interesting and scholarly compendium on ancient Greek ideas of blood-vengeance was published not long since:—Hubert J. Treiston: *Poine*, London, 1923. Much space is given to the discussion of various theories held by modern scholars on the origin of the idea of Erinyes. See in particular pp. 109 ff., 175 ff. Book III (pp. 276-424) treats of *Poine in Attic Tragedy*. Naturally, the story of Orestes is a central theme. The Aeschylean trilogy is discussed, pp. 276-302, the *Eumenides* specifically, pp. 287-302. The service which Professor Treiston has performed in collating material and developing an orderly investigation of this whole complicated subject is very great. Some of his conclusions other scholars may perhaps judge to be jeopardized, if not vitiated, by certain preconceptions of his in the matter of defining disputed terms, such as *Achaean*, *Pelasgian* etc. But, after all, how can a man discuss these obscure anthropological problems without the assumption of certain premises to his arguments and without impressing some words to do

in the two earlier dramas of the trilogy, as if the poet were delicately sounding the strain that would be dominant at the end.

Of the six instances of its use in the *Agamemnon*, two have the word in the singular. One of these occurs in that terrible oath by which Clytemnestra justifies the murder of Agamemnon as requital for the death of Iphigenia: "by the accomplishment of justice for my child, and by Ate and Erinys, to whom I slaughtered this man."<sup>70</sup> The other is in a choric passage of involuntary foreboding, which, "hymns the lyreless dirge of Erinys."<sup>71</sup> Cassandra has heard "the revel rout of kindred Erinyes," haunters of the Atreid house since the first crime wrought by that race, singing their dreadful song.<sup>72</sup> The Herald who brought the news of Troy's fall had an ominous suggestion that, if the tidings were of the opposite tenor, it would be appropriate to sing "the paean of Erinyes."<sup>73</sup> In the first *stasimon* the chorus remember that the gods sleep not, that "black Erinyes" in good time will set in darkness the unjust man.<sup>74</sup> Aegisthus exults in the brightness of the day on which he sees Agamemnon wrapped "in woven robes of Erinys."<sup>75</sup>

In the *Choephorae* κλυτὰ βυσσόφρων Ἐρινύς brings Orestes home to avenge the stain of older bloodsheddings.<sup>76</sup> He has been threatened by the Delphic oracle with dreadful persecutions from Erinyes, to be wrought out of the paternal blood-drops, if he disobeys the command to kill.<sup>77</sup> While he pictures in imagination the death of Aegisthus, he predicts that "Erinys, unstinted of murder, shall drink the third cup of blood un-

specified duty? Probably my objection that he does not give space for a full discussion of the matriarchate, in contra-distinction to the patriarchate, as a social order in terms of which certain primitive customs may be explicable, will seem to him to be merely a call for another set of counters in the game. Yet I cannot help believing that my idea, developed below in my text, of the *Eumenides* as representing the conflict between the matriarchate and the patriarchate is of prime importance in understanding the poet's complete thought in the trilogy and a clue of value in the study of Greek views on religion and social justice.

<sup>70</sup> *Ag.* 1432-1433.

<sup>71</sup> *Ag.* 990-993. The genitive, Ἐρινύος, is dependent on an emendation of ἐριννύς, the word in *codd.* Cf. *Eum.* 331.

<sup>72</sup> *Ag.* 1186-1192.

<sup>75</sup> *Ag.* 1580.

<sup>73</sup> *Ag.* 645.

<sup>76</sup> *Choeph.* 646-652.

<sup>74</sup> *Ag.* 461-466.

<sup>77</sup> *Choeph.* 283-284.

mixed.”<sup>78</sup> The law is stated thus:—blood murderously shed calls for blood in vengeance; death summons Erinyes, who brings destruction upon destruction.<sup>79</sup> In these four instances the word occurs three times in the singular, once in the plural.

Nowhere in the ten instances of its use in the two plays is the definite article prefixed. I believe that nothing but the Greek word, taken over into English as a proper name, can give the sense exactly, unless one may say *Vengeance* and *Vengeances*,<sup>80</sup>—and that suggests too much the associations of English allegory. My point is that this personal concept needs definition by the article<sup>81</sup> as little as might Apollo, Artemis, or Eros. When finally, in the third drama of the trilogy, there is a bodily revelation of *Vengeances* whose presence has heretofore been gruesomely felt, they are definitely Erinyes-hounds of the mother, against whom Clytemnestra warned her son: φύλαξαι μητρὸς ἐγκότους κύνας.<sup>82</sup> Orestes had then replied: “Foregoing the deed (her murder), how shall I escape the hounds of the father?”<sup>83</sup> As madness gathers on him at the end of that drama, he exclaims: “Clearly these are mother’s wrathful hounds.”<sup>84</sup>

I have used the metaphor of the lifted veil to describe the effect of the concluding drama. Or it might be regarded, in another aspect, as a shift of scene from the external world to the inner consciousness of Orestes.<sup>85</sup> For the spectators the poet

<sup>78</sup> *Choeph.* 577-578.

<sup>79</sup> *Choeph.* 400-404.

<sup>80</sup> To my feeling, the translation of the word which Professor Herbert Weir Smyth consistently uses in his beautifully phrased English version of the trilogy (cited above, note 5), “Spirit of Vengeance,” misses the sense of the Greek personification, which is complete.

<sup>81</sup> Mr. E. D. A. Morshead in his famous verse translation (*The House of Atreus*, London, 1911) uses the anglicized Latin word, *Furies*. But that carries a connotation from later literature. Moreover, he seems always to think of *the Fury*, *the Furies*.

<sup>82</sup> *Choeph.* 924.

<sup>83</sup> *Choeph.* 925.

<sup>84</sup> *Choeph.* 1054.

<sup>85</sup> The psychological subtlety of Aeschylus in depicting the incipient madness of Orestes at the end of the *Choephoroe* deserves close study. On my idea of the *Eumenides* as a dramatizing of the situation from within the consciousness of Orestes, see an earlier paper of mine, *The Insanity of the Hero—an Intrinsic Detail of the Orestes Vendetta*, *Trans. A. P. A.* vol. LVIII, esp. p. 55.



makes visible the supernatural shapes that, as hallucinations, are constantly present to the mind of the sole human character.

At all events, the band of Erinyes there appearing are Clytemnestra's hounds. Her wraith urges them out of slumber to renewed ardor of pursuit.<sup>86</sup> As a claim to their services, she cites her many libations to them in the past.<sup>87</sup> She calls on no Olympian, and it is noteworthy that her ghost does not arise until Apollo and Hermes, the Olympian supporters of Orestes, have vanished. The whole strength of her prayer, which passes to her sleeping Erinyes in a dream,<sup>88</sup> symbol of Clytemnestra's nebulous existence, is addressed to these particular chthonic powers.<sup>89</sup> She mourns her dishonored status among the dead, declaring that no divinity has been interested to avenge her shocking murder by her son.<sup>90</sup> Her final word is of relentlessly vindictive hatred of Orestes.<sup>91</sup> The chorus in the *Agamemnon* reflects the King; that in the *Choephoroe*, Electra and Cassandra; that in the *Eumenides*, the disembodied, revengeful spirit of Clytemnestra, her Erinyes. The ethical appeal of the last play, whereby the sympathy of the audience is directed toward Orestes so that the horror at his crime is almost forgotten, lies in the ugly realism of this venomous pursuit by Clytemnestra and her dogs.

By reason of Clytemnestra's excommunication from Olympian protection and because the pursued Orestes has expressly received that protection, the ghostly struggle between mother and son becomes a contest between chthonic powers, known as "older" divinities, and the "younger" divine masters of the world.<sup>92</sup> Throughout the *Agamemnon* sounded the *motif* of Zeus, zealous guardian of the hearth and of sceptre-bearing kings, and, in a peculiar sense, patron of the Pelopidae. In a famous choric passage of that play,<sup>93</sup> there is the extraordinary idea, occurrent elsewhere in Greek theology, of the superseding of one dynasty

<sup>86</sup> *Eum.* 94, 121, 124, 131-134.

<sup>87</sup> *Eum.* 106-109.

<sup>88</sup> *Eum.* 116.

<sup>89</sup> *Eum.* 115.

<sup>90</sup> *Eum.* 95-102.

<sup>91</sup> *Eum.* 135-139.

<sup>92</sup> The conflict is explicit, *Eum.* 67 ff., 162 ff., 757-761, 778-793 (repeated 808-823).

<sup>93</sup> *Ag.* 160-175.

of gods by another through conquest. In such manner came the establishment of the rule of Zeus. "A mightier man" had come and "spoiled the house." A divine triad, prominent in this celestial dynasty, take visible shape in the *Eumenides* as the powerful supporters of Orestes:—Apollo,<sup>94</sup> Cassandra's avenger already by the hand of Orestes, now manifest as counsel and co-defendant<sup>95</sup> in the trial of the matricide; Hermes, official messenger of Olympus and guardian of the dead,<sup>96</sup> to whom Orestes and Electra made special appeal in the second drama; <sup>97</sup> Athena, the great exemplar of the patriarchal dispensation, as a child, born mature and motherless, of her father.<sup>98</sup> Behind them Zeus is augustly felt.<sup>99</sup> These are the "friends" of the matricide, to whom Clytemnestra's ghost bitterly alludes.<sup>100</sup> Opposed to them are her Erinyes-hounds, deities characteristically known as children of a mother, Night,<sup>101</sup> and belonging to that older order whom the younger gods have "ridden down."<sup>102</sup> Therefore the cause of "the world's best father-lover"<sup>103</sup> becomes the test case between the Patriarchate and the Matriarchate. The deciding vote is appropriately cast by unmothered Athena, in accordance with Apollo's enunciation of the astounding law of the patriarchate: that a child is not related to its mother.<sup>104</sup> With this may be bracketed, as corollary, another

<sup>94</sup> Apollo appears in the *Eumenides*, 64-93, 179-234, 566-753.

<sup>95</sup> *Eum.* 576-581.

<sup>96</sup> Hermes, a "dumb actor," appears, *Eum.* 64-93, 235-777 (perhaps to end).

<sup>97</sup> *Choeph.* 1-2, 124-128. Cf. words of the chorus, *Choeph.* 727-729.

<sup>98</sup> Athena appears, *Eum.* 397-489, 566 to end. On the miracle of her birth, *Eum.* 662-666.

<sup>99</sup> Note the appeals to Zeus in the *Choephoroe*, 382-385, 394-396, 409. In the *Eumenides*, Apollo affirms Zeus to be the divine source of his oracles and in the same context pleads the atrocity of Clytemnestra's guilt, a woman's murder of a man, sceptre-endowed of Zeus (*Eum.* 616-627). Cf. *Eum.* 17-19 (of Apollo as mouthpiece of Zeus), also 713. Note 757-761, cited above.

<sup>100</sup> *Eum.* 119. (This line is numbered 122 in Professor Smyth's edition.)

<sup>101</sup> *Eum.* 321-322, 791-792, 821-822, 844-845, 876-877, 1034. In 961-962, the *Moirai* (mentioned in 173, as *παλαγγεῖς*) are termed *ματροκασιγνήται*.

<sup>102</sup> *Eum.* 778-793; repeated, 808-823. Cf. 149-150.

<sup>103</sup> *Choeph.* 1051, *φιλατ' ἀνθρώπων πατρί*.

<sup>104</sup> *Eum.* 658-666, 734-741. Professor Treston (*op. cit.* p. 289) calls this an "absurd opinion" on parentage. But it actually held in Roman law.

dictum of this very masculine dispensation, whereby Apollo, in rebuttal of the argument of the chorus of Erinyes, that Clytemnestra's crime against Agamemnon was not a murder of blood-kin, characterizes the murder of a husband as a heinous sin toward Zeus, Hera, and Aphrodite, i. e. the patriarchal sanctions of marriage.<sup>105</sup>

By right of its concluding "act,"—the *Eumenides*,—the sole extant example of a Greek trilogy is a mystery play. If the second member may be called *The Vengeance of Loxias*, the first would be *Zeus Defied* and the last, *The Triumph of the Patriarchate*. Or the religious thought on which the trilogy is threaded might well be expressed in terms suggested by the dramatist himself in his formulation of the ethical law of *πάθει μάθος*.<sup>106</sup> The *Agamemnon*, grim great drama of action, is τὸ δρᾶν; the *Choephoroe*, drama of retribution, is τὸ παθεῖν; the *Eumenides*, drama of justification, is τὸ μαθεῖν. The women of the chorus in the *Choephoroe* sadly state the law in its application to Orestes: *μύμνοντι δὲ καὶ πάθος ἀνθεῖ*.<sup>107</sup> But, by extending their metaphor, it may be said that the blossom of the suffering that inevitably came to him is shown by the happy ending of his judicial acquittal to have grown into the full flower of wisdom. The paean<sup>108</sup> which celebrates the reconciliation of the older with the younger gods, "Moirā with All-seeing Zeus," makes the woes of the Pelopid house details in the grand scheme of the *divina commedia*. Through bitter human experience it has come to pass that the blood-hounds of the chthonic matriarchate are leashed as domestic watch-dogs to guard the laws upholding an orderly patriarchal society.

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<sup>105</sup> *Eum.* 211-221. Athena also speaks to this point, 738-740.

<sup>106</sup> *Ag.* 176-178; 1562-1564; *Choeph.* 313-314.

<sup>107</sup> *Choeph.* 1009.

<sup>108</sup> *Eum.* 1032-1047. The *Eumenides*, which concludes on the note of the peaceful reconciliation of Erinyes with Olympians, begins with the prologue of the Pythian priestess, descriptive of the peaceful supplanting of chthonic powers by Olympian Apollo at oracular Delphi, *Eum.* 1-19.

## THE ASTRONOMICA OF MANILIUS.

[The article presents the personality, originality and conventionality of Manilius with numerous adaptations of material both poetry and prose. Some passages are analyzed to find out whether the sources were improved. The non-astronomical phases of the poem are set forth, and some noticeable features of his style are shown. The conclusion is drawn that although Manilius was a literary satellite, the study of his orbit and movements is of value.]

### I. MANILIUS.

#### A. *Personality.*

Although Manilius wrote on an abstract subject, his poetry has a very considerable personal element, but no indication of the time<sup>1</sup> or place of his birth, and, furnishing the means for the calculation of the horoscope of others, he is silent in regard to his own. To him Homer is maximus . . . vates (2, 1):

. . . cuiusque ex ore profusus  
Omnis posteritas latices in carmen duxit.

Hesiod is proximus illi, and he himself is a vates (1, 23; 2, 142; 3, 41; 4, 121), as if he also "Laurea donandus Apollinari." He freely refers to his intentions, and his poem is thick-set with injunctions in the imperative, the subjunctive and the second periphrastic. His tone is that of a schoolmaster laying down the rules of the problem. Yet he is pedagogically fair, and gives, as it were, the complaint of a reader (4, 387 ff.):

Multum, inquis, tenuemque iubes me ferre laborem,  
Rursus et in magna mergis caligine mentem,  
Cernere cum facili lucem ratione viderer.

This begins with a Vergilian touch, and the answer closes with one,—potuisse sat est. Cui bono indicates the spirit of an objector's attitude (4, 866 ff.); but Manilius is undaunted (id. 883 f.):

Iam nusquam natura latet; pervidimus omnem,  
Et capto potimur mundo.

His plea to the Muses and declaration of purpose (3, 3 f.):

<sup>1</sup> The Date of Manilius A. J. P. 52, 157-167.

Ducite Pierides. Vestros extendere fines  
Conor et ignotos in carmina ducere census,

is followed by a section (5-23) setting forth the subjects of which he did not intend to write. As if he had in mind the composition of a historical poem, he concludes with the words:

. . . Romanae gentis origo,  
Totque duces, orbis tot bella atque otia, et omnis  
In populi unius leges ut cesserit orbis  
differtur.

There is a comparison of the poet with others, and a heralding of his own perseverance at the beginning of the fifth Book, *Hic alius finisset iter*, and:

Me properare viam mundus iubet, omnia circum  
Sidera vectatum toto decurrere caelo.

We wonder if the Romans acquainted with the words of Horace (*Sat. 1, 6, 58 f.*):

. . . non ego circum  
Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,

could entirely disassociate the two pictures.

### B. Originality.

The originality of the writer is the burden of the opening lines, yet in spite of this claim of primacy, the thought is the same as in Lucretius (1, 921 ff.), with perhaps a suggestion from Vergil (*Georg. 3, 289 ff.*). In a notable collection of borrowings, of contradictions and of figures (2, 49-59) he declares that the Muses have sung every kind of song, and that every pathway to Helicon has been trodden. Yet he closes the passage with

Nostra loquar; nulli vatum debebimus ora,  
Nec furtum, sed opus veniet, soloque volamus  
In caelum curru, propria rate pellimus undas.

There is included a reference to the meadows (*Lucret. 2, 319; 5, 462*), and very likely to the Bandusian fountain of Horace (*Odes 3, 13, 9*). The *Dialogus de Oratoribus* (9, 20 ff.) declares:

Adice quod, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint.

relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.

This fairly expresses the loneliness of Manilius for he writes (2, 136 ff.):

Haec ego divino cupiam cum ad sidera flatu  
Ferre nec in turbam, nec turbae carmina condam,  
Sed solus vacuo veluti vectatus in orbe.

Here again we may call in question the originality of the poet, for Cicero has (N. D. 2, 66, 167): Nemo igitur vir magnus sine aliquo adflatu divino umquam fuit, and other appropriations show that Cicero's work was known to Manilius. However, he boldly faced the obstacles which confronted him (4, 436 ff.), and cared not for progress along the line of least resistance (3, 26 ff.), for it is easy

Auroque atque ebori decus addere, cum rudis ipsa  
Materies niteat.

Here, too, he borrows, for a part of this is from the fine image of Vergil (Aen. 1, 592).

### C. *Conventionality.*

Manilius observed conventional propriety in mentioning the Muses (3, 3), but his appeal to Caesar is much stronger (1, 7 ff.). He also invokes the aid of the reader (3, 36 f.):

Huc ades, O quicumque meis advertere coeptis  
Aurem oculosque potes, veras et percipe voces.

The first part of this is with an eye to the words of Vergil (Aen. 10, 461) in a prayer to Hercules, and the latter part is based on the cry of Aeneas to Venus (ib. 1, 409). He sets forth the two-fold aspect of his work, carminis et rerum (1, 22), and the difficulties connected with both. However, Lucretius had already incorporated long Greek words in his poetry, and Cicero had already developed a similar theme in translation and had used the names of the constellations in the dactylic hexameter. Manilius was not confronted by a new or insurmountable difficulty, and his metrical efforts were a success. His schemata closely parallel

those of Vergil, and in the matter of elision he is closer to the norm of Ovid than that of Vergil.

Lucretius asserts that it was difficult to set forth "*Graiorum obscura reperta*" "*propter egestatem linguae et rerum novitatem*". He especially refers to this when describing the *homoeomeria* (1, 830 ff.). Manilius had a like difficulty (2, 693 ff.):

Perspice nunc tenuem visu rem, pondere magnam,  
Et tantum Graio signari nomine passam,  
Dodecatemoria.

Similar comments are made on *Daemonien* (2, 897), *athla* (3, 162), and *ecliptica* (4, 818). The phrasing is a little different in 4, 298:

Quam partem indigenae dixere Decania gentes.

He gives a description of *Engonasin* with an explanation of the term (5, 646 f.):

Nixa genu species vel Graio nomine dicta  
Engonasin, "Graiae dixere decanica gentes."

This was probably taken over from Cicero (N. D. 2, 42, 108):  
*quam quidem Graeci*

*Engonasin vocitant, genibus quia nixa feratur.*

In addition to this Cicero gives a definition of *Cynosura* (ibid. 105), *Ophiuchus* (108), *Hyades* (111) and *Procyon* (114). Judging by these and a few others in the *Aratea*, as well as by the words of Lucretius, the remarks of Manilius were purely conventional, for he had no great trouble in fitting Greek words into his meter, or in explaining the meaning except in the case of a few abstract terms. *Octotropos* (2, 969) required a change in quantity, but most of the Greek words were as adaptable as were Latin proper names. Excepting the names of constellations such words were comparatively few, were suited to the hexameter, and unobjectional except to the purist criticising Greek patches on Roman texture.

## II. ADAPTED MATERIAL.

Manilius drew freely from his predecessors and might have applied to himself the words of Horace (Odes 4, 2, 27 ff.) *apis . . . more modôque . . . per laborem plurimum*. At times he has a word or two to suggest what he had in mind. A few illustrations will suffice. Felix (4, 548), although without the relative, suggests Vergil (Georg. 2, 490), as *premendo* (1, 81) recalls its use by Horace (Odes 2, 10, 3) and *Emicat* (5, 598) its use by Vergil (Aen. 5, 319). *Qui primus* (1, 486) points to Lucretius who had applied the words to Epicurus (3, 2), in the same way as *proximus illi* in the comparison by Manilius (2, 11) point to the comparison by Horace (Odes 1, 12, 19). *Restat ut* (1, 561) introduces to coner as in Horace to *soler* (Ep. 1, 1, 27), and *Felix illa dies* (5, 569) are the words of the *Ciris* (27). In *nova* begin the third Book of Manilius as they do the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Some of the fields explored by Lucretius were also traversed by Manilius, and some similar views of the two will be presented.

A. *Lucretius*.

1. *Cosmogony*: A part of the work of Lucretius, Ovid and Manilius was to show "how the heav'ns and earth Rose out of Chaos." Lucretius (5, 67 ff.; 449 ff.) discusses the question, and has *primus se sustulit aether Ignifer* (458) which Manilius arranges in one line (1, 149):

*Ignis in aetherias volucer se sustulit auras.*

The order of *limus . . . subseidit* (5, 496) is reversed (1, 149), and *et tanto magis* (5, 489) appears as *quoque magis* (1, 162). Lucretius in describing the Mother of the gods writes (2, 603):

*Aeris in spatio magnam pendere docentes  
Tellurem.*

Manilius uses the same verb (1, 173 and 195; 3, 50), the first followed by an argument, in which he declares (194 ff.) that *natura . . . pendentis terrae* ought not to seem a matter of wonder *cum pendeat ipse Mundus et in nullo ponat vestigia fundo*. Lucretius expressly declares *neque habere ubi corpora prima Consistant* (2, 91 f.), and *nam medium nihil esse potest* (1, 1069). Manilius has *consistunt corpora plagis*, *Et con-*



currendo prohibentur longius ire. Lucretius writing of the seas, lands and skies, announces the day of doom (5, 96 ff.):

Una dies dabit exitio multosque per annos  
Sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi.

Manilius practically denies this by giving it a conditional setting (2, 804 ff.) quae nisi . . . excipiant . . . Dissociata fluat resoluto machina mundo, the concluding words showing that he had in view the words of Lucretius. Disagreeing as to the outcome, the two poets are equally at variance in regard to the position of the divine in the universe.

2. Theology: The mission of Lucretius was to show how things came into existence without the aid of the gods (1, 158), for they spend a care-free life (2, 647 ff.; 5, 82; 6, 58), and Nature (2, 1092):

Ipsa sua per se sponte omnia Dis agere expers.

His views (3, 18 ff.) are fairly summarized in Tennyson's Lucretius:

The Gods, who haunt  
The lucid interspace of world and world,  
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,  
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,  
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,  
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar  
Their sacred everlasting calm!

Manilius was a creationist rather than a materialistic evolutionist, and his ethical design seems to have been to substitute a deistic conception of creation for the materialistic one presented by Lucretius. He declares that he will sing (2, 61 ff.):

Infusumque deum caelo terrisque fretoque,

and continues with a long exposition of the results unless imposito pareret tota magistro. He had already stated his conclusion (1, 247 ff.) Hoc opus . . . vis animae divina regit, or, as it is put in other words (1, 531):

Non casus opus est, magni sed numinis ordo.

Spiritus unus (2, 64) is mentioned, divina potentia (3, 90), auctor (3, 681), and deus (2, 475 et al.). Notice also the asser-

tion mundum divino numine verti (1, 484), an attitude which Lucretius (1, 154) assigns to inability to see the causes of things. *Natura* is an equivalent to these terms (3, 48). See also (2, 82 f.):

Hic igitur deus et ratio quae cuncta gubernat,  
Ducit ab aeternis terrena animalia signis.

In this respect the passivity set forth by Lucretius is in sharp contrast with the activity proclaimed by Manilius (2, 107 f.):

. . . quem denique in unum  
Descendit deus atque habitat seque ipse requirit,

and of the same import (4, 916 f.):

Ipse deus vultusque suos corpusque recludit  
Semper volvendo, seque ipsum inculcat et offert.

The divine power inspires its ministers especially (1, 49 f.), yet the indwelling is not for the elect only but for all (2, 107 ff.), and the poet gives for the encouragement of all (4, 895):

Exemplumque dei quisque est in imagine parva,

and gives an affirmative answer to his own question (ib. 886 f.):

An dubium est, habitare deum sub pectore nostro,  
In caelumque redire animas, caeloque venire?

To these there need be added but another line in regard to ratio (2, 131):

Nam neque decipitur ratio, nec decipit umquam.

3. Social Development: Lucretius closes his account of the industrial and social evolution of mankind with the declaration (5, 1451 f.):

Usus et impigrae simul experientia mentis  
Paulatim docuit pedetentim progredientis,

and this furnished the basis for a similar sketch in the first Book of Manilius:

61: Per varios usus artem experientia fecit;  
79: Sed cum longa dies acuit mortalia corda;  
90: Semper enim ex aliis alia proseminat usus;  
95: Omnia conando docilis sollertia vicit.

In these lines *proseminat* and *sollertia*, not used by Lucretius or Vergil, may have been brought over from Cicero, and *longa dies* (Aen. 5, 784) is a modification of *longa diei* . . . *aetas* (Lucr. 1, 558). Two facts set forth in the *Astronomica* are the immutability of the *mundus* (1, 478 ff.), and the mutability of the mortal and the earthly. When the Greeks overthrew Troy, *Arctos* and *Orion* were moving with opposing fronts just as now, but on the earth and in the affairs of men (id. 515 ff.) :

Omnia mortali mutantur lege creata,  
Nec se cognoscunt terrae vertentibus annis.

Later he returns to the same topic (4, 821-839) and declares:

In tantum longo mutantur tempore cuncta.

The same mutability of the animate is set forth by Lucretius (2, 77) with the verb in the same position, but with *brevi* for *longo*:

Inque brevi spatio mutantur saecula animantum.

In the use of *tantum* Manilius agrees with Vergil (Aen. 3, 415) :

Tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas.

Manilius goes farther than Lucretius, and with the thesis (2, 422) :

Sic bellum natura gerit, discordat et annus,

shows how the races of men *inimica sorte feruntur* (2, 607). The results are given in the poet's portrayal of his own times (2, 592 f.) :

At quanta est scelerum moles per saecula cuncta,  
Quamque onus invidiae non excusabile terris!

Of similar import are (4, 418 and 94 ff.) :

Crimen ubique frequens et laudi noxia iuncta est;  
Quin etiam infelix virtus et noxia felix,  
Et male consultis pretium est, prudentia fallit,  
Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes.

The state of affairs set forth in 3, 525 ff. is similar and amid these conditions nothing is more rare than friendship (2, 582), and when fortune seeks, she rarely finds loyalty (id. 591). But

it is not fortune, but fate that is inevitable (2, 113: Aen. 8, 334 ineluctabile), the immutable cause of mutability (4, 14). This is the power not of themselves which controls men (id. 84), and it is absolutely impartial (id. 90):

Nec sunt immensis opibus venalia fata.

In contrast with this, Lucretius uses *fatum* three times and *fatalis* once, each indicating uniformity. The sway of luxury is almost as potent (5, 291 ff.). In his presentation of moral conditions and tendencies Manilius is akin to Seneca, and at one point (5, 376 f.) Numidarum pascimur oris, Phasidos et lucis, he states a fact mentioned also by Petronius (93, 1 f.):

Ales Phasiacis petita Colchis  
Atque Afrae volucres placent palato,

and also (119, 36 f.) iam Phasidos unda Orbata est avibus. The conclusion of the whole matter is given in the introduction to the fourth Book:

Luxuriamque lucris emimus, luxuque rapinas,  
Et summum census pretium est, effundere censum.

And this is the environment of "the paragon of animals" (4, 905 ff.):

. . . Stetit unus in arcem  
Erectus capitis, victorque ad sidera mittit  
Sidereos oculos, propiusque adspectat Olympum,  
Inquirique Iovem,

and (2, 261 f.):

Sic nostros casus solatur mundus in astris,  
Exemploque docet patienter damna subire.

In a few passages Manilius asserts what Lucretius denies, as the wonder of man at the disappearance and reappearance of the sun (M. 1, 68 ff.: Lucr. 5, 971 ff.), and the existence of men with the bodies of wild beasts and the limbs of men (M. 4, 101: Lucr. 2, 700 ff.; 5, 878 ff.).

4. The Same or similar Collocations: Each poet expresses joy in his work with *iuvat* (L. 1, 926 et al.: M. 1, 17), and equal reverence with *immortalia sermone notantes* (L. 5, 122) and *nec fas est verbis suspendere mundum* (M. 4, 440). A few col-

locations selected from the mass, with the reference to Lucretius first, will show the close study which Manilius had made of the phraseology of his predecessor: *erumpere caelo* (1, 163: 1, 859); *cogit . . . fateri* (1, 467: 2, 526); *praeposterus ordo* (3, 621: 2, 764). In some instances there is a slight change, but with preservation of the thought, as in *ruinas fecere* (1, 741): *naufragium faciunt* (2, 330); *tereti cervice reposta* (1, 35): *molli cervice reflexus* (1, 334) and *nivea cervice reclinis* (5, 555); *continet amplexu terram* (5, 319): *cingentis . . . amplexibus orbem* (4, 596). *Ad summas emergere opes* (2, 13; 3, 63) indicates that *ad* should be read after *rerum* with *tantas emergere moles*, (1, 116). There is an occasional resemblance in longer passages, as *sub pedibus tellus cum tota vacillat Concussaeque cadunt urbes* (5, 1236 f.): *concutitur tellus . . . Subducitque solum pedibus* (4, 828 f.). *Nos exaequat victoria caelo* (1, 78) is evidently the basis for (2, 452):

*Exaequentque fidem caelo mortalia corda,*

as (5, 179):

*Qui numquam vero vitae gustavit amorem,*

is for (3, 613):

*Vix degustatam rapiens sub flore iuventam.*

Manilius portrays the coming of Spring (3, 652 ff.) in a shorter, but palpable imitation of the description by Lucretius (1, 6 ff.). The latter has

*. . . tibi suavis daedala tellus  
Summittit flores, tibi rident aequora ponti  
Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine caelum.*

The order of the earth and sea is reversed in

*Tum primum miti pelagus consternitur unda  
Et varios audet flores emittere tellus.*

The original is more direct with *summittit* for *audet emittere*, and more colorful with *suavis* for *varios*, and *daedala* with no corresponding adjective in Manilius. The latter has an incongruous combination:

*Tunc pecudum volucrumque genus per pabula laeta  
In Venerem partumque ruit,*

which lengthens *pecudes persultant pabula laeta*. At only one point is an effort made to reproduce the sweep of the phrases of Lucretius:

*Denique per maria ac montes fluviosque rapaces  
Frondiferasque domos avium camposque virentes,*

and the result is an almost static situation:

. . . *totumque canora  
Voce nemus loquitur, frondemque virescit in omnem.*

There are two descriptions of night in Manilius (3, 194):

*At cum obducta nigris nox orbem texerit alis,*

and (5, 60):

*Ementita diem nigras nox contrahit alas.*

The second has material used in the first which is an adaptation of Lucretius (6, 853):

*Nox ubi terribili terram caligine texit,*

for *caligo* substituting *nigrae* . . . *alae*, evidently suggested by the words of Horace *mors atris* . . . *alis* (Sat. 2, 1, 58). We prefer the Manilian statement, and also in (4, 1 ff.):

*Quid tam sollicitis vitam consumimus annis  
Torquemurque metu, caecaque cupidine rerum  
Aeternisque senes curis, dum quaerimus aevum,  
Perdimus?*

The first part adapts in *curis consumit inanibus aevum* (L. 5, 1431) with *sollicitis* stronger than *inanibus*. The personal touch in the second line was suggested by *Torquemur miseri* in the *Aetna* (256) which Manilius evidently considered Vergilian. In the third line *curis* is more annoying than Horace's *Aeternis* . . . *consiliis* (Odes 2, 11, 11). Manilius gives a summary of human experience (3, 526 f.):

*Et subtexta malis bona sunt, lacrimaeque sequuntur  
Vota, nec in cunctos servat fortuna tenorem.*

This is prosaic in comparison with one phase portrayed by Lucretius (2, 576 ff.):

... miscetur funere vagor  
 Quem pueri tollunt visentis luminis oras.  
 Nec nox ulla diem neque noctem aurora secuta est  
 Quae non audierit mixtos vagitibus aegris  
 Ploratus mortis comites et funeris atri.

Some collocations may have been taken from either Lucretius or Vergil, as perlabitur (L. 4, 249; Aen. 1, 147: M. 5, 420), verrere aequora (L. 5, 267 and 389; 6, 625: M. 4, 285 everrere; labentia signa (L. 1, 2: M. 2, 26 rev.; Aen. 3, 515 sidera).

### B. Vergil.

With the exception of some of the poems of Ovid that of Manilius is the first which is largely indebted to the works of Vergil, and this applies also to the poems of the Vergilian Appendix. Manilius says of his own work nec parva est gratia nostri Oris (4, 441 f.), and has tenuem laborem (ib. 387), separating the parts of In tenui labor; at tenuis non gloria (Georg. 4, 6). Philippi is given as an illustration of the influence of comets (ib. 1, 490 ff.) and also by Manilius (1, 909 ff.). Continuing he states restabant Actia bella, and

Atque ipsa Isiaco certarunt fulmina sistro.

Vergil has Actia bella (Aen. 8, 675), and agmina sistro (id. 696). There are three touches (1, 79 ff.) similar to ones in the short sketch of the development of Man (Georg. 1, 121 ff.). These are tentando . . . usus (1, 83): usus meditando; omnia sollertia vicit (1, 95): labor omnia vicit; and (1, 109):

Attribuitque suas formas, sua nomina signis,  
 for

Navita tum stellis numeros et nomina fecit.

The appropriation of material for a half line and the use of a compound for a simple verb are shown (4, 171: Georg. 2, 512):

Atque alio sub sole novos exquirere census:  
 Atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.

Some of the material of a few of Vergil's similes has been utilized by Manilius: Ebori decus addere (3, 28: Aen. 1, 592);

volucrique simillima fumo (1, 824): v. s. somno (Aen. 2, 794; 6, 702); praeceps in Tartara tendit (2, 794): radice in Tartara tendit (Georg. 2, 292; Aen. 4, 446).

Manilius also borrowed from Vergil the substance of some personal activities. The action in (5, 564):

Extulit et liquido Nereis ab aequore vultum,

is as in (Aen. 1, 127):

Prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda,

although extulit is the only word repeated. There is equal success with

Pinguique impressis despumant musta racemis (3, 663):

and

Et foliis undam trepidi despumat aeni (Georg. 1, 296).

The simple fact of sowing is variously stated by Manilius, mandant et sulcis Cererem (3, 664), et sulcis semina miscet (4, 219), and (5, 274):

Seminaque in fenus sulcatis credere terris;

but all with an eye to Vergil (Georg. 1, 223 f.) sulcis committas semina . . . anni spem credere terrae.

Some objects in nature portrayed by Vergil are either transferred unchanged or retouched by Manilius: Tinguatur Oceano (Aen. 1, 745: 1, 411); sol igneus (Georg. 4, 426: 1, 514); pictae volucres (Georg. 3, 243; Aen. 4, 525: 2, 43); dumosis arvis (Georg. 2, 180: 2, 229); equis . . . anhelis (Georg. 1, 250: Aen. 5, 739: 2, 796); spumantis apri (Aen. 4, 158: 5, 229); ramove sedentem (Georg. 4, 514: 5, 373); pendentem de rupe (Ecl. 1, 76: 5, 570); pumicibusque cavis (Georg. 4, 43: 5, 150). Some changed pictures are, quercus . . . sublimi vertice nutant (Aen. 9, 682 f.): viridi nutantes vertice silvas (1, 5); cantando rumpitur anguis (Ecl. 8, 72): rumpere vocibus angues (1, 92); Bacchus amat colles (Georg. 2, 113): quod colles Bacchus amaret (2, 20); Iri, decus caeli (Aen. 9, 18): Oceani caelique decus (1, 347).

Other borrowings and adaptations indicate a firm grasp on the minutiae of Vergil's phraseology. Good illustrations are



subdlexerat in the same position (Aen. 6, 524: 1, 76), and also procumbunt (Aen. 6, 180: 2, 776). Out of a long list we give only tam dira cupido (Aen. 6, 373: 4, 539); vivere raptō (Aen. 7, 749: 4, 182); and oblitus sui (Aen. 3, 629: 5, 607). A few examples of equivalent collocations will also be given: iam iam cadenti (Aen. 6, 602): iam iamque tenenti (1, 435); aliosque recursus (Aen. 5, 583): variosque recursus (1, 485); secessu longo (Aen. 1, 159): longo . . . recessu (2, 84). Plaudentem . . . columbam (Aen. 5, 516) is transformed to pendentem . . . voluerem (5, 297), and omnia in omnia . . . percurrere (Aen. 6, 627) is changed to its elements in magna cum parvis . . . percurrere (1, 117). Manilius states as a fact (1, 8):

Qui regis augustis parentem legibus orbem,  
what Vergil (Ecl. 4, 17) gives as a prophecy:

Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.

A comparison of a few longer passages will show how Manilius either failed or succeeded in rivaling Vergil. The latter writes of the great plague (Georg. 3, 517 ff.):

It tristis arator  
Maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuencum,  
Atque opere in medio defixa relinquit aratra.

Manilius weakens this with defessus for tristis, and almost erases Vergil's picture of death with (1, 878 f.):

Et steriles inter sulcos defessus arator  
Ad iuga maerentes cogit frustrata iuencos.

However, this may be Vergil set over against Vergil, for Manilius draws on the Moretum (123):

Sub iuga parentis cogit lorata iuencos.

Vergil writes (11, 616):

Fulminis in morem aut tormento ponderis acti,

in which the relative slowness of the second part overbalances the first. Compared with this the adaptation by Manilius (3, 361):

Turbinis in morem recta vertigine curret,

is unified the latter part describing the first. It is written of the gardener (5, 256 ff.):

Ille colet nitidis gemmantem floribus hortum,  
Pallentes violas et purpureos hyacinthos,  
Liliaque et Tyrias imitata papavera luges,  
Vernantisque rosae rubicundo sanguine florem.

This is based on the words of Vergil (Ecl. 2, 45 ff.) lilia . . . pallentes violas . . . papavera . . . narcissum et florem . . . bene olentis anethi. This omits the coloring of papavera, and in the last line presents the odor of anethi instead of the color of the rose. It also has narcissum instead of hyacinthos with their noticeable coloring. Compare suave rubens hyacinthus (Ecl. 3, 63) and ferrugineos h. (Geo. 4, 183). Vergil's imitator, Columella, has niveos, caeruleos h. (10, 100).

The lines (1, 923 ff.):

. . . Iam bella quiescant  
Atque adamanteis discordia vincta catenis  
Aeternos habeat frenos in carcere clausa,

are a palpable imitation of the words of Vergil (Aen. 1, 294 ff.):

. . . Furor impius intus  
Saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis  
Post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

The quietus put on war by the adamanteis catenis is strongly in contrast with the bellows of Furor bound with aenis . . . nodis. Manilius may have taken his phrase, with change in spelling of adjective, from Aeschylus (Prom. Vinct. 1, 6) ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν; cf. Ovid (Met. 7, 104) adamanteis . . . naribus. It may have come as a suggestion from Horace's adamantinos . . . clavos (Odes 3, 24, 5), or from its use in other connections by Propertius (see Thesaurus s. v.). Augustine gives witness to its proverbial character, adamantinis, ut dicitur, catenis, and Milton (P. L. 1, 48 f.) "to dwell In adamantine chains" to its appropriateness; cf. Lowell (Columbus 187) adamantine links. We also select a line from the Ciris (76):

Ipsa truce multo misceret sanguine pontum.

Manilius has infectos sanguine fluctus (4, 289), infecit . . . sanguine campos (1, 900), and the nearer parallel (5, 667):

*Inficiturque suo permixtus sanguine pontus.*

But *inficio* is better than *misceo*, although the suggestion for its use may have come from Horace (*Odes* 3, 13, 6 f.) *inficiet tibi Rubro sanguine rivos*. The application by Manilius is broader than that by Horace, and both are better than the boxing gloves shown by Vergil *infecta sanguine* (*Aen.* 5, 413).

C. *Horace.*

The material garnered from Horace is of the same character, and from the mass of parallels only enough will be given to show that Manilius recalled at will, from all the works of the earlier poet, what was suitable for his purpose. *Iusto secernere iniquum* (*Sat.* 1, 3, 113) has the parts reversed and slightly changed in *iniquum separat aequo* (4, 771), as *fugienda petendis*, following line, in *fugienda petendaque* (4, 815). *Qui iam contento . . . fune laborat* (*Sat.* 2, 7, 20) is evidently the basis of *at qui contento minitatur . . . nervo* (4, 347). Horace uses *mordax* (*Sat.* 1, 4, 93) and *risus* . . . *quaerit* (*Ep.* 1, 7, 79), and the two are combined (5, 145):

*Et sale mordaci dulcis quaerentia risus.*

*Ille tenax animi* (4, 165) is an adaptation of the well known *tenacem propositi virum* (*Odes* 3, 3, 1), and *ore magis tenero* (4, 19) of *os tenerum* (*Ep.* 2, 1, 126). The adjective in *claram Rhodon* (*Odes* 1, 7, 1) is differently applied in *c. Corinthum* (4, 611). Although *discordia concors* (1, 142) does not have a parallel in Horace, it may be taken as a reversal of *concordia discors* (*Ep.* 1, 12, 19); cf. *vesania discors* (*Sat.* 2, 3, 174) and *symphonia discors* (*A. P.* 374). *Enatat* (*A. P.* 20: 2, 942), on account of its limited use, may be considered as one of the terms borrowed by Manilius. *Notandae . . . vires* (2, 958), and *nascentum mores sunt* (4, 408) were both suggested by Horace (*A. P.* 156):

*Aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores.*

The words *deus immortalis haberi* *Dum cupit Empedocles* (*A. P.* 464 f.) called forth the implied negative (1, 28 f.):

*Quis foret humano conatus pectore tantum,  
Invitis ut dis cuperet deus ipse videri?*

The descriptive lines pointing out one of the causes of changes in things (4, 423 f.):

Et nunc per scopulos, nunc campis labitur amnis,  
Aut faciens iter aut quaerens fervetque ruitve,

as shown by nunc . . . nunc are a restatement of the verbal picture of Horace (Odes 3, 29, 34 f.). We have selected from another statement of Horace (ib. 4, 2, 7) the verbs to substitute for *urive* *reditve*, for Manilius was too much of an artist to write *amnis urit* or to use *redit* with the forward moving mass. However, the verbs of Lucretius (1, 288 f.) *volvitque . . . ruit* would be equally appropriate. But however written it is far less graphic than the description which it was intended to reproduce.

#### D. Catullus and Tibullus.

The words of Catullus (64, 15 f.):

Emersere freti candenti e gurgite vultus  
Aequoreae monstrum Nereides admirantes,

followed by *viderunt . . . mortales . . . nymphas*, seem to have lingered in the mind of Manilius, for he has (5, 434):

Nerea et aequoreas conantur visere nymphas,

and *Emersere fretis* (1, 163) adding *s* to the second word of Catullus. The appearance of the new mountain ranges seemed to the poet like the Nereides rising from the depths to gaze on the ships which were the first to burst into that unknown sea. Manilius portrays a similar scene (1, 87):

Et vagus in caecum penetravit navita pontum,

and this has the same subject and modifier as the similar statement in Tibullus (1, 3, 39 f.):

Nec vagus ignotis repetens compendia terris  
Presserat externa navita merce ratem.

#### E. Cicero and Livy.

The words of Cicero are utilized in some lines,—a good illustration of the fitness of rhythmical elements for metrical purposes. *Eque suo dictator venit aratro* (4, 149) is a special application of the general statement of Cicero (*Pro Sex. Rosc. Amer.*

18, 50): Cum ab aratro arcessebantur qui consules fierent. The story of Orestes and Pylades as told by Cicero (de Am. 7, 24) reappears (2, 581 ff.) as an illustration of the rarity of friendship. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis (de Sen. 2, 4) is put affirmatively, quibus omnis in ipsis Census erat (1, 772 f.), the prose rhythm of Cicero differing little from the poetic of Manilius. Intentum dirigit arcum (2, 171; cf. contento d. arcu (1, 269), drops the apologetic particle in intentum enim animum tamquam arcum (de Sen. 11, 37), just as in mentis oculos (4, 195 and 875; cf. 2, 122) for mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos (de Sen. 12, 42). The words spici ordine structam et . . . munitur vallo aristarum (id. 15, 51) furnished material for (5, 272):

Spica feret prae se vallantes corpus aristas.

Material seems to have been drawn from the de Natura Deorum as well as from the two essays. Divino flatu (1, 136) changes the noun in d. adflatu (N. D. 2, 66, 167), and divina sollertia (id. 2, 43, 110) may have suggested the noun for Manilius in 1, 73 and 95. Notice also aetherios cursus (2, 21, 54: 1, 282). The line in translation (2, 25, 65):

Qui terram tenero circumiectu amplectitur,

is changed (4, 596) with amplexibus for amplectitur, and orbem for terram. The thought in Somn. Scip. (8, 19), and more concisely stated in de Sen. (21, 78) nec principium . . . ne finem quidem habiturum esse, appears with neque principium . . . neque finis (1, 212, ff.). There is another noteworthy passage in the Somn. Scip. (3, 5): Omnibus qui patriam conservaverint . . . certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur. The substance of this is put by Manilius in the form of a question (1, 758 ff.):

An fortes animae dignataque numina caelo  
Corporibus resoluta suis, terraque remissa  
Huc migrant ex orbe, suumque habitantia caelum  
Aetherios vivunt annos mundoque fruuntur?

Nemesianus (1, 40) adapts the last line with sidereasque colunt in the first part, and has in the same poem (32 f.): suggerit herbas Mollis ager, lateque tacet nemus omne, as if adapting the

words of Lucretius and changing the scene in Manilius (see II. A. 4 med.).

A few collocations of Livy lingering in our mind seem to have lingered in the mind of Manilius also. *Fortuna per orbem Servitium imperiumque tulit* (1, 509 f.) is changed from *imperium servitiumque* (1, 25, 4), as *fallente solo declivia longa* (1, 240) and *devexo fallit vestigia clivo* (1, 676) from *via non recipiente vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente* (21, 36, 7). *Romamque suismet Pugnantem membris* (4, 43 f.), and (1, 912):

*Imperiumque suis conflixit viribus ipsum,*

have the thought, if not the words, in *iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt* (Praef. 4). *Venatus non ille quidem* (5, 199) is such a change as one might expect from *non quidem tumultus fuit* in the famous 29th chapter of the first Book of Livy.

### III. NON-ASTRONOMICAL.

Approximately one-half of the *Astronomica* is non-astronomical, and in the vocabulary there is little that is technical. It is for this reason that so many pieces from other writers could be appropriately fitted in. His mythological, historical and geographical material will be considered separately.

#### A. *Mythological.*

The long account of Andromeda (5, 540-610) is as clearly told as that by Ovid (*Met.* 4, 670 ff.), and the latter has nothing better than (559 ff.):

*Ter circum Alcyones pinnis planxere volantes,  
Fleueruntque tuos miserando carmine casus;*

*Ipsa levi flatu refovens pendentia membra  
Aurā per extremas resonavit flebile rupes.*

Deucalion and Phaethon are incidentally mentioned (4, 833 ff.), and of the latter it is said (1, 735):

*Fama etiam antiquis ad nos descendit ab annis,*

as if Manilius had not read the story by Ovid. Bellerophon and Salmoneus are introduced, the latter in a noticeable piece of

rhetoric (5, 91 ff.), for five lines are inserted between the beginning, *Hinc mihi Salmoneus*, and the closing, *generatus possit haberi*. The ten-line description by Vergil (*Aen.* 6, 585 ff.) may have furnished the suggestion for the account, but *imitatus: imitatur* is all there is in common. *Ara* was established when the sons of the earth rose in rebellion against the gods, and the description has some points evidently drawn from the *Aetna*.

### B. *Historical.*

Manilius mentions (3, 5 ff.), just as does the *Culex* (26), some things of which he will not sing, and the historical section (1, 762-804) takes the *Culex* (334-371) as a model. The beginning of the list of Greek heroes is the same in both works, *hic et . . . Atrides: atque hic . . . Atridas*, and that of the Romans practically so, *Horatia virtus: Horatia proles*. The gnat saw no heroes later than the Scipios, but Manilius brings the list down to Augustus, who is referred to several times, as we should expect in the work of a poet who was a follower of Vergil, and an admirer of the Emperor. We find also "*et censu Tullius oris Emeritus caelum*"; "*matrisque sub armis Miles Agrippa suae*," and "*Cato fortunae victor*." Cato is again praised (4, 87) *invictum devicta morte Catonem*. Juvenal selected both Pompey and Hannibal as examples of changes in the fortunes of men, but in this he was anticipated by Manilius who, for emphasis, sets forth the erstwhile honors of the former (4, 51 f.), and more than once (4, 37 ff.; 564 ff.; 658 ff.) refers to the great battles of the latter.

### C. *Geographical.*

There is a compendium of geography (4, 595-817), and not more poetically and prominently does *Italia* stand out in the poetry of Vergil (*Georg.* 2, 136-173) than do the parts of *Europa* in the work of Manilius (4, 686 ff.):

*Maxima terra viris et fecundissima doctis  
Urbibus; in regnum florentes oris Athenae,  
Sparta manu, Thebae divis et rege vel uno  
Princeps Pella domus . . .*

*Italia in summa, quam rerum maxima Roma  
Imposuit terris, caeloque adiungitur ipsa.*

One of the noticeable parts is that illustrating the thesis *proprioque colore Formantur gentes* (712 f.). This has some points in common with the minor works of Tacitus, as *solidos . . . artus, coloratas . . . gentes, torti per tempora crines: magni artus . . . colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines* (Agr. 11, 4 f.). The poetry in line 820:

Et vomit Oceanus pontum sitiensque resorbet,

resembles a part of the prose in *Oceani . . . mare . . . multum fluminum . . . nec litore tenuis adcrecere aut resorberi* (Agr. 10, 21 ff.). The first part of 716:

Gallia vicino minus est infecta rubore,

is like *Gallos vicinam* (Agr. 11, 10), and the participial usage in the latter part is the same as in *nullis . . . conubiis infectos* (Germ. 4, 2). These resemblances suggest the possibility that the poem may have been known to Tacitus.

#### IV. STYLE.

The unusually long normal sentence indicates that Manilius was a rhetorician as well as a poet, and for this reason some rhetorical touches will be given. He occasionally repeats different forms of the verb, as *sequiturque sequentem* (1, 304: Aen. 11, 695), *damnatus . . . damnavit* (1, 775), *capit aut captos* (2, 239), *recipitque receptus* (4, 351), and *fugeret . . . fugaret* (2, 73). Akin to this is the juxtaposition of different case forms of the same word in a score and a half of instances, as *vertex a vertice* (1, 594), *sidus sidere* (2, 98), *caedis caedes* (5, 669: Lucr. 3, 71 *caedem caede*). He is fond of alliterative devices, as in *ruptis fugientia flumina ripis* (4, 417), and has a rare (suggested) example of oxymoron, *discordia concors* (1, 142).

#### A. *Variations.*

After the fashion of Vergil who sometimes repeats lines or has only one word different, as *convectare* (7, 749): *comportare* (9, 613), changed to *praedasque reportant* (5, 188), and *Exportantque . . . praedas* (ib. 435), Manilius has many variations. The two-line description of Ceres and Bacchus (3, 152 f.):



Seu Cererem plena vincentem credita messe,  
Aut repetat Bacchum per pingua musta fluentem,

is expanded to four lines (4, 734 ff.):

Et Cererem varia redeuntem messe per urbes,  
Nec paribus siliquas referentem viribus omnes;  
Nec te, Bacche, pari donantem munere terras,  
Atque alias aliis fundentem collibus uvas.

The description in each line is centered around a present participle, but *per urbes*, and *terras* give to the second passage a sweep not suggested in the first. Some similarities in single lines are as follows:

- 1, 323: *Gnosia desertae fulgent monumenta puellae*;
- 5, 253: *Cara Ariadneae quondam monumenta coronae*;
- 1, 877: *Squalidaque effusi deplorant arva coloni*;
- 4, 400: *Annua solliciti consumment vota coloni*;
- 2, 127: *Quis neget esse nefas invitum prendere mundum*;
- 4, 21: *Fortunamve suis invitam prendere votis*.

For the meter's sake he has *crines . . . comas . . . capillis* (1, 835 f.; 5, 148 ff.), *ortu . . . cum merguntur* (5, 28), and *Tolle . . . Sustuleris* (5, 46 f.). As further illustrations of rhetorical variations within a narrow compass we give the changes rung on Vergil's *omnia vincit Amor* (Ecl. 10, 9), and *labor omnia vicit* (Georg. 1, 145): *poenas iam noxia vincit* (2, 602); *ratio omnia vincit* (4, 932), *curas industria vincit* (5, 172); *omnia sollertia vicit* (1, 95); *vicit natura periculum* (5, 309); and the imitation *locus omnia vertit* (4, 865). *Vicerat*, not with abstract subject, is also used in the fifth foot (1, 623; 2, 4; 3, 16; 4, 746 and 762).

#### B. *Arrangement of Pairs of Nouns and Adjectives.*

In 525 instances of successive nouns with adjectives, one adjective comes first in 86 per cent, and both in 55 per cent. Such arrangements, a marked feature in Catullus and in the *Ciris*, show that Manilius followed a recognized plan of placing colorful words first in the line. Of the twelve possible arrangements illustrations will be given of the six with adjective preceding, and of the two most prominent with noun first:

- 5, 388: *Quorum omnis parvo consistit passere census*;

- 4, 83: Mutuaque armati coeunt in vulnera fratres;  
 1, 412: Tunc Procyon, veloxque lepus; tum nobilis Argo;  
 1, 296: Maioremque Helice maior decircinat arcum;  
 5, 70: Qua gelidus Boreas Aquilonibus instat acutis;  
 3, 14: Non annosa canam Messanae bella nocentis;  
 2, 814 f.: Et decus omne . . . et varios honores;  
 3, 662: Tum Liber gravida descendit plenus ab ulmo.

There is chiasmus in some of these arrangements, but taken as a whole, it does not stand out prominently, as in *lusus agiles agilemque vigorem* (5, 110) and (5, 231):

Nec talis mirere artis in sidere tali.

Notice also *surgentem pariter pariterque cadentem* (1, 205, but anaphoric 1, 241) as in Vergil (Aen. 8, 545).

### C. *Similes.*

Manilius makes but little use of the simile to embellish his poem, although he has three crowded together (1, 705 ff.) *ac veluti . . . discernit semita . . . ut freta canescunt . . . utque circinat Iris . . . Sic superincumbit . . . limes*. Two similes fill 33 lines (2, 755-787):

Ut rudibus pueris monstratur litera primum,

(ten lines), sic the poet must arrange his work (seven lines), *ac velut cities rise* (twelve lines), sic must my material be presented (four lines). The work closes with a simile of twelve lines (*utque . . . sic etiam*) in which the republic on earth is compared to *quaedam respublica in mundo*.

### D. *Special words.*

Manilius transferred a few Greek words: *Athlon*, *daemonie*, *dodecatemorion*, *horizon*, *actotropos* and *trigonus*. He seems to be the only author to use *decircino* (1, 236; 3, 326 and 352), and three adjectives *delassabile pectus* (4, 242), *indelassato vigore* (5, 63), and *glomerabilis* (1, 221). He was the first or among the first to use *anguipes*, *commilitium*, *genitura*, *horosco-po*, *normalis*, *nutricia(n)*, *transmeo*, *triplico* and *vernalis*.

### V. CONCLUSION.

Quintilian does not mention Manilius, either because his work was not known to him, or because it did not contain material

suitable for his purposes. But his poem may have been known to Tacitus, certainly his assertion to Caesar (1, 10):

Das animum, viresque facis ad tanta canenda,

was taken over by Lucan (1, 66):

Tu satis ad vires Romana in carmina dandas.

When dealing with the dodecatemoria, octotropos and triangula signa, although they may have dactylic nimbleness, he could not invest his theme with poetic interest any more than he could have done by a metrical trigonometry. But he deftly colored the descriptive portions with the coloring of many others, and in his work each *purpureus pannus* is as bright as it was in theirs. But in doing this he showed himself as a reflector rather than an originator, and in the poetical firmament a satellite rather than a primary body. And even as the movements of satellites present phases worthy of study, so does Manilius in his own orbit as well as in his relation to others.

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## TIBULLUS, MESSALLA AND THE VIA LATINA.

[By proposing a new interpretation of some verses of Tibullus, this paper attempts to identify more certainly than formerly the road which M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus repaired after his triumph ex Gallia in September, 27 B. C.]

The seventh elegy of the first book of Tibullus is a birthday poem dedicated to the poet's great patron, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus,<sup>1</sup> who triumphed ex Gallia on September 25, 27 B. C.<sup>2</sup> as a reward for his successful suppression of the revolt of the Aquitanians.<sup>3</sup> Whatever the date on which Messalla celebrated his birthday, it seems clear from Tibullus' poem that it was not long after the date of the triumph, if not on the same day. The poem must therefore be dated not very long after September 25, 27 B. C.

At the close of the poem (vv. 55-56), Tibullus expresses the hope that Messalla will have progeny who will enhance the deeds of their father, and then adds these verses:

nec taceat monumenta viae, quem Tuscula tellus	57
candidaque antiquo detinet Alba lare.	
namque opibus congesta tuis hic glarea dura	
sternitur, hic apta iungitur arte silex.	
te canit agricola, magna cum venerit Vrbe	
serus inoffensum rettuleritque pedem. <sup>4</sup>	62

The inhabitant of the Tusculan land and of Alba, particularly the farmer returning from Rome late at night, must be thankful to Messalla for the road which he would seem to have built or to have repaired, somewhere in the Alban Hills. As Schulze<sup>5</sup> has rightly pointed out, the fact that Tibullus has used the present tense in the verbs *sternitur* and *iungitur* (v. 60) indicates that

<sup>1</sup> Though the spelling of his name is given in the manuscripts both as Messalla and Messala, the epigraphical evidence, which is not subject to corruption to the same extent as are literary works, is in favour of the former. See *C. I. L.* i 1, 2nd ed., p. 50, no. 87; p. 201, no. 40; vi 1375, 29782, 29789, for the longer spelling. In one inscription (*C. I. L.* i 1, 2nd ed., p. 61) the abbreviated form MESSAL· seems to point to the shorter form.

<sup>2</sup> *C. I. L.* i 1, 2nd ed., p. 50, no. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *B. C.* iv 38.

<sup>4</sup> The text is that of F. W. Levy, Leipzig, 1927.

<sup>5</sup> K. P. Schulze, *Römische Elegiker*, 5th ed., Berlin, 1910, *ad loc.*

the work of construction was still going on at the time of the composition of the poem. Hence, the date of the undertaking must have been soon after September, 27 B. C.

The editors of Tibullus have, with two exceptions to be noted below, generally held to the view that Messalla repaired the Via Latina, either wholly or in part. Those who specify that the work was only a part include P. A. de Golbéry (Paris, 1826), P. Martinon (Paris, 1895), K. F. Smith, (New York, 1913),<sup>6</sup> and J. P. Postgate (London, 2nd ed., 1929),<sup>7</sup> while the others do not limit the extent of the work. These are W. Ramsay (Glasgow, 1840),<sup>8</sup> R. Schultz,<sup>9</sup> P. J. Meier (Braunschweig, 1889), K. Jacoby,<sup>10</sup> G. G. Ramsay, J. B. Carter, G. Némethy (Budapest, 1905) and K. P. Harrington.<sup>11</sup>

It may be noted in passing that Smith<sup>12</sup> does not cite the evidence for the statement that Messalla "performed the work so thoroughly that more than a century later . . . it was a proverb of durability. A rare apotheosis for a road commissioner." He is probably thinking of two epigrams of Martial in which Messalla's name is mentioned. The pertinent lines are:

<sup>6</sup> He inaccurately states that the Via Latina "passed between Tusculum on the left and the Alban Hills on the right . . ." Tusculum was situated, of course, in the Alban Hills. It is probable that the error arose from a mistranslation of the term 'Mons Albanus' which denotes the highest peak, the Alban Mount, now called Monte Cavo. The same error appears in K. Jacoby's *Anthologie aus den Elegikern der Römer*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1894; in Schulze's edition, *op. cit.*, and in J. Hammer's *Prolegomena to an edition of the Panegyricus Messalae*, Albany, New York, 1925, 81.

<sup>7</sup> He is in error in stating that Augustus rebuilt the Via Aemilia. See p. 346.

<sup>8</sup> He wrongly states that the junction of the Via Latina with the Via Appia was at Beneventum, instead of at Casilinum. This error is repeated by G. G. Ramsay (3rd ed., Oxford, 1900); J. B. Carter (New York, 1901), and by Smith, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> *Quaestiones in Tibulli librum I chronologicae*, Fürstenwald, 1887, 23-24.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* He says that the Via Latina passed through the valley of the Liris, which is true, but it is some distance farther on than the region of the Alban Hills that this is true.

<sup>11</sup> R. Burn, *Roman literature in relation to Roman art*, London, 1888, 252, cited by Harrington, merely quotes Tibullus without comment upon the identity of the road in question.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, 35.

. . . teritur noster ubique liber;  
 et cum rupta situ Messalae saxa iacebunt  
 altaque cum Licini marmora pulvis erunt,  
 me tamen ora legent et secum plurimus hospes  
 ad patrias sedes carmina nostra feret.

(viii 3 4-8)

marmora Messallae findit caprificus et audax  
 dimidios Crispi mulio ridet equos:  
 at chartis nec furta nocent et saecula prosunt,  
 solaque non norunt haec monumenta mori.<sup>13</sup>

(x 2 9-12)

Smith's predecessors have in several instances thought that the phrases 'Messalae saxa' and 'marmora Messallae' referred to the building of the road mentioned by Tibullus. It is barely possible that the former might apply to a road, if taken from its context, but the phrase 'Licini marmora' in the next line and 'marmora Messallae' in the other epigram, the theme of which is similar, cannot apply to a road, since 'marmora' were not used in roads by the Romans, and a caprificus would not be allowed to grow in the midst of an important highway in Martial's day. He must then be speaking of a building with marble decoration, probably of a tomb.<sup>14</sup>

Writers on the career of Messalla have accepted the same view.<sup>15</sup>

A statement of Suetonius (*Aug.* 30) may be cited as indirect confirmation: Quo autem facilius undique urbs adiretur desumpta sibi Flaminia via Arimino tenus munienda reliquis triumphalibus viris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit. Dio Cassius (liii 22) points out that the roads were in bad condition through long neglect during the period of the civil wars, adding that none of the senatorial party did as Augustus wished, but that, the work being done, the imperial treasury had to pay for it. It is likely that Dio is wrong in making this last statement, inasmuch as we know from an inscription<sup>16</sup> that

<sup>13</sup> The text is that of W. M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1902.

<sup>14</sup> This has been shown conclusively by Hammer, *op. cit.*, 82.

<sup>15</sup> See the dissertations of L. Wiese (Berlin, 1829, p. 82), I. M. J. Valetton (Groningen, 1874, p. 51), L. Fontaine (Versailles, 1878, p. 50), and Hammer, *op. cit.*, 80-82, and *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* iii, p. 366. Hammer limits the work to a part of the Via Latina, while the others do not limit it.

<sup>16</sup> *C. I. L.* x 6895. Schulze, *op. cit.*, cites this stone as evidence that

C. Calvisius Sabinus repaired the Via Latina at another point, and that L. Arruntius did the same also at another point is deduced from a second stone.<sup>17</sup> It would therefore seem reasonable that the Via Latina was divided into several sections for repairs, and that C. Calvisius Sabinus and L. Arruntius repaired two sections, while a third was probably assigned to Messalla in the neighbourhood of the city. There exists, however, no direct evidence independent of Tibullus for Messalla's part, and it must be admitted that Tibullus does not specifically name the road.

This view of the passage does not, however, take into consideration the topographical details which cause great difficulty. With this, the topographers of the Roman Campagna have long struggled. If the inhabitant of Alba is to be thankful for the road, then the most natural highway would be the Via Appia, since this latter road connected the site of Alba<sup>18</sup> with Rome by an almost straight line, and was, in addition, from the engineering point of view, the best road from Rome to the southeast. Against the identification with the Via Appia, however, it must be said that the 'Tuscula tellus' would not be reached by this highway, and possibly no single main road suits all of the requirements of Tibullus' words.<sup>19</sup>

To avoid these difficulties, several theories have been proposed by the topographers. The views of Antonio Nibby<sup>20</sup> who believed that Tibullus was speaking of a road which diverged far from the Via Latina near the tenth milestone (the modern Villa Senni) to approach Tusculum by way of Frascati, and of

Messalla reconstructed the Via Latina, but his name is not mentioned in the text.

<sup>17</sup> C. I. L. x 5055.

<sup>18</sup> The exact site of Alba is in some doubt, but the arguments for placing it at Castel Gandolfo, on the western shore of the Alban Lake, which are discussed at length by Thomas Ashby, *Alba Longa, Journal of Philology*, XXVII (1901), 37-51, and briefly in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, V (1910), 277, seem to the present writer conclusive.

<sup>19</sup> Another road which gave access to the Alban Hills from Rome was the Via Labicana, but it was too far to the north to satisfy any of the conditions.

<sup>20</sup> *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquaria della carta dei dintorni di Roma*, 2nd ed., Rome, 1848, iii 596.

Luigi Canina<sup>21</sup> who identified our road with the modern Via Tuscolana<sup>22</sup> which is at present the most direct route from Rome to Frascati, need not long detain us, as neither road would suit the requirement of Alba.

Antonio Rocchi<sup>23</sup> proposed the solution that Messalla repaired both the Via Appia and the Via Latina in the region between Rome and the Alban Hills, and this theory was accepted by V. Gardthausen<sup>24</sup> as well. This proposal would solve the problem nicely if it could be confirmed by other considerations. Rocchi is sharply criticized by A. Cartault who says that he "paraît ignorer les éléments de la critique."<sup>25</sup>

Another view is that Messalla's work consisted of the construction of the Via Cavona<sup>26</sup> which runs northeast from the Via Appia to the Via Praenestina, crossing the Via Latina near the tenth milestone,<sup>27</sup> and in general skirting the northwest extremity of the lava-flows of the Alban volcano. G. B. De Rossi<sup>28</sup> was able to identify as belonging to the family of Messalla a villa which lies in the northern angle of the intersection of the Via Cavona and the modern highroad to Marino (ancient Castrimoenium), and so was led to the identification of the Via Cavona as Messalla's work. This road seemed to him to be the only certainly ancient line of communication between Alba and the Tusculan territory. He therefore gave the name of 'Via Valeria' to the Via Cavona, although this name is not attested for antiquity in this region. The name has been accepted also

<sup>21</sup> *Descrizione dell'antico Tuscolo*, Rome, 1841, 65-66.

<sup>22</sup> The description of this road, and a discussion of the question of its antiquity, will form part of the writer's history of Tusculum, now in preparation.

<sup>23</sup> Sull'interpretazione di un passo di Tibullo in rapporto ad antiche vie, *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, 1895, 337-350, also printed separately, Rome, 1895.

<sup>24</sup> *Augustus und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1891-1904, i 989.

<sup>25</sup> *A propos du Corpus Tibullianum*, Paris, 1906, 465, note.

<sup>26</sup> The name is modern. According to G. Tomassetti, *Della Campagna Romana. Illustrazione delle Vie Labicana e Prenestina*, Rome, 1907, 34, the road is at times called the 'Via Marittima.' For a part of its course, it is now in use for vehicular traffic.

<sup>27</sup> This must not be confused with the road advocated by Nibby, mentioned above, p. 347.

<sup>28</sup> Tuscolo, le ville tuscolane e le loro antiche memorie cristiane, *Bollettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1872, 152.



by both of the Tomassetti,<sup>29</sup> by R. Lanciani,<sup>30</sup> and by G. Cozza-Luzzi,<sup>31</sup> while Ashby merely accepts the identification without adopting the name.<sup>32</sup> Schulze<sup>33</sup> appears to identify Messalla's road with the Via Latina and at the same time with the Via Cavona, which is impossible, and he also derives 'Cavona' from 'Corvinus' which is very unlikely.<sup>34</sup>

F. Grossi-Gondi<sup>35</sup> felt that the indications given by Tibullus made it necessary for the road to connect Alba and the Tusculan territory with Rome, in which view he is probably correct, and so he called the Via Cavona the 'Via Albano-Labicanense.' Two editors of Tibullus, P. Silvius (Paris, 1685) and I. G. Huschke (London, 1822),<sup>36</sup> while not mentioning the Via Cavona by name, accepted the identification with some road connecting Tusculum with Alba.

Against the Via Cavona theory there are several overwhelming objections: (1) the presence of the villa of Messalla's family is no evidence for the road; (2) the course of the Via Cavona is such as to indicate that it is a road of greater antiquity than the age of Messalla, while its length is not sufficiently great, nor in Tibullus' time could it have had such an importance as to warrant the praise of the poet, had Messalla merely repaired it; (3) the Via Cavona is by no means the only ancient road, nor even the most direct, which connected the two regions in

<sup>29</sup> G. Tomassetti, *La via Latina nel medio evo*, Rome, 1886, 74. G. and F. Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica, medioevale, e moderna*, Rome, 1926, iv, 168-169.

<sup>30</sup> *Bullettino comunale*, 1884, 195; 1905, 131, tav. vi.

<sup>31</sup> Il Tusculano di M. Tullio Cicerone, *Giornale Arcadico*, N. S. XLV [CXC of the whole series] (1864), 97. This was also published separately, Rome, 1866.

<sup>32</sup> *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I (1901), 176; *Journal of Philology*, XXVII (1901), 39, note 2.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> Ashby also rejected Schulze's view in a conversation with the writer. It is unlikely that the word comes from 'Cabum', the name of a settlement near the site of Rocca di Papa, which apparently survives in 'Monte Cavo', but along the road just southwest of the Via Latina there is a ruined mill which is called 'Mola di Cavona.' As the mill is in a hollow, the name may carry that idea.

<sup>35</sup> *Il Tusculano nell'età classica*, Rome, 1908, 49-50, and map.

<sup>36</sup> These are both Delphin editions. The second is probably merely copying the first, as the wording is very similar.

question; and (4) those who hold this theory have not appeared to know the passages in Suetonius and Dio, cited above.

Nor will it help matters to assume that one or the other of the two sites to the east of the Alban Lake, either Palazzuolo or Coste Caselle, was really the site of Alba, for the Via Appia would perhaps be the most direct route from Rome to Alba even if this were true.

It has hitherto escaped the notice of writers on this passage in Tibullus that in the time of the poet there can have been no town on the Via Appia named Alba.<sup>37</sup> The phrase 'candida . . . Alba' (v. 58) can not therefore mean the town, but the region may well have kept the name long after the town itself had disappeared.<sup>38</sup> Hence, our problem is no nearer solution because of the disappearance of the town.

There is, however, still another fact which Ashby apparently observed, though he did not apply it to the point in question, since he himself accepted the Via Cavona theory. This is that the single word 'Alba' is occasionally used to denote the Alban Mount itself. Plutarch (*Iul. Caesar* 60); <sup>39</sup> καὶ καταβαίνοντος ἐξ Ἀλβης Καίσαρος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐτόλμησαν αὐτὸν ἀσπάσασθαι βασιλέα is an instance of this loose use of the word. The same use also occurs in Lucan (i 198): et residens celsa Latiaris Iuppiter Alba, and in Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* ii 304: iam nemus Egeriae, iam te ciet altus ab Alba Iuppiter, et soli non mitis Aricia regi. We have here three independent examples of the use of Alba for Mons Albanus, two of them from Roman poets. It therefore seems reasonable to interpret Tibullus' words in the same way. In the only other instance in Tibullus where the word occurs, it means Alba Longa, and the full form of the name is given.<sup>40</sup> From one example, however, nothing can be proved,

<sup>37</sup> This has been demonstrated conclusively by Ashby in the article cited above. The ancient references are Livy i 29; Appian *B. C.* i 69; Pliny *N. H.* iii 5, 63-69.

<sup>38</sup> The Via Labicana kept its original name long after it ceased to go to Labici.

<sup>39</sup> From Suetonius (*Iul.* 79): Nam cum in sacrificio Latinarum revertente eo inter inmodicas ac novas populi acclamationes quidam e turba statuæ eius corona lauream candida fascia praeligata inposuisset . . . , it is clear that Plutarch is speaking of Caesar's return from the Alban Mount.

<sup>40</sup> ii 5, 50.

but this single example is perfectly consistent with the interpretation proposed.

If our view be correct, the 'antiquus lar' of the poem must be regarded as the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the summit of the Alban Mount, which is possible.<sup>41</sup> This temple was one of the earliest of the Latin nation and may be thought of as the shrine of the 'deus indiges' of the Latins, from whom Rome sprang. If so, the word 'lare' may be appropriate.<sup>42</sup> The epithet 'candida' as applied to Alba has been explained by Schulze<sup>43</sup> and Smith<sup>43</sup> as a reference to the limestone of the region. The name 'Alba' itself ought to be sufficient to suggest to the Roman of the poet's day, whatever may have been the origin of the name, the idea of brightness, and it is reducing poetry to the absurd to see here a reference to limestone. Moreover, it is very unlikely that any limestone exists among the native rocks of the region. None exists in the territory of Tusculum nearby, and the tufa, sperone, peperino and selce to be found there would never suggest 'candida'.<sup>44</sup> If the villas of the Romans in the region, or the temple of Jupiter itself were decorated with travertine (limestone from the Sabine Hills) or with marble, the sun shining on them would reflect a brilliant light which could be seen from Rome. This is true of the modern buildings in the region.<sup>45</sup>

The most direct main route from Rome to the Alban Mount would have been the Via Latina as far as the twelfth milestone and thence by less important thoroughfares to the site of the modern town of Rocca di Papa. It is true that the so-called via triumphalis ascends the Alban Mount from the other side, i. e., the southwest, and is most easily reached from the Via Appia, but we are dealing here with farmers (v. 61), and not with Roman generals returning from triumphs. The modern Via

<sup>41</sup> See G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed., Munich, 1912, 40, 124-125, 190.

<sup>42</sup> Tibullus might have used 'deo' in the same metrical position, had he so wished.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>44</sup> Limestone deposits in volcanic regions are, however, not unknown.

<sup>45</sup> There are now at least no remains of travertine or marble at the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, but the remains of these materials may have been removed elsewhere.

Anagnina parallels the Via Latina to a point a few kilometres beyond Grottaferrata, and from Grottaferrata the modern 'autostrada' ascends to Rocca di Papa. It is therefore most likely that Tibullus is referring to a reconstruction of the Via Latina, and the statements of the editors are confirmed.

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## TWO NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

### I. THE ARREST AND DEATH OF CALLISTHENES

[The arrest of Callisthenes is placed at Bactra in the spring of 327 B. C.; he was put to death probably later, but the manner of his death cannot now be determined.]

Callisthenes of Olynthus accompanied Alexander on the expedition which crossed from Europe into Asia in 334 B. C. He was the official historian, and until his arrest wrote a finished history on the march, basing it in large part on the *Ephemerides* or official daily journal. After the death of Alexander, several histories based in part on Callisthenes, notably those of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, were written of the expedition. All of these works, together with other histories written in the next century or two, have, except for some fragments, entirely disappeared. Our knowledge of Alexander's expedition, then, is derived chiefly from five secondary historians who wrote several centuries after his death: Arrian, by far the best, since his history is based to a large degree on Ptolemy and Aristobulus and thus on Callisthenes and the *Ephemerides*; and Diodorus, Curtius, Justin and Plutarch who drew from various sources.

In a recent study,<sup>1</sup> I have shown that if we should draw up in parallel columns, assigning a column to each of the five secondary historians, a complete list of the places visited by Alexander, this fact would stand out: The list, which I shall refer to as the itinerary, may be divided into three divisions. In the first and third divisions the authors are in substantial agreement, but not in the second. It is clear that in the first and third divisions the later historians drew from a common source, while in the second they did not. This common source was directly or indirectly the *Ephemerides*, and the evidence briefly is as follows; The first division of the itinerary ends in the year 327 B. C., the year of Callisthenes' arrest. Since Callisthenes wrote his history on the march basing it in large part on the *Ephemerides*, as I have remarked above, the *Ephemerides* were preserved up to this point through Callisthenes. During the

<sup>1</sup> *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition*, Brown University Studies, 1932.

next years the secretaries of course continued to write the Ephemerides, but when, on the banks of the Hydaspes in India, the Ephemerides were destroyed, there existed no other contemporary source for this period. This explains the disagreement in the second division of the itinerary, which extends from Callisthenes' arrest to the Hydaspes. From the Hydaspes to the end of the expedition, the third division, there is once more agreement between the secondary historians, for the Ephemerides, preserved in this division, formed the basis of later accounts.

The position of Callisthenes, then, in the Alexander tradition is clear, for his history, based in part on the Ephemerides, is, directly or indirectly, the source<sup>2</sup> for the histories of Alexander's expedition to the time of his arrest. It is therefore important to determine as accurately as possible the place and date of his arrest and, if possible, of his death.

The account of Callisthenes' arrest is given by Arrian, Curtius, Plutarch and Justin; a lacuna occurs in Diodorus at this point, although from the table of contents of Book XVII it seems clear that he wrote of it. The general scene is Bactria-Sogdiana, where chronology and Alexander's movements are not always clear.<sup>3</sup>

Arrian tells the story as follows:<sup>4</sup> Anaxarchus, with an eye to winning the king's favor, succeeded by his sophistry in rousing Alexander from the depression caused by the death of Cleitus. Sometime afterward, when a discussion of proscynesis took place, Anaxarchus spoke in support of it, while Callisthenes opposed it and thus incurred Alexander's displeasure. Not long after this, Hermolaus and the other pages were surprised in a plot against Alexander. Callisthenes, according to

<sup>2</sup> The accuracy of details in the first division of the itinerary indicates that the source of the five later historians was ultimately the Ephemerides, but, since the agreement ends with the arrest of Callisthenes, it is evident that historians had the facts through Callisthenes and not directly from the Ephemerides. There are other reasons too for believing that Callisthenes was the source of later writers; for example, cf. my article "The Seer Aristander", *American Journal of Philology*, L (1929) and an article by Professor William K. Prentice, "Callisthenes, the Original Historian of Alexander", *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIV (1923).

<sup>3</sup> On certain questions of chronology, cf. my article "When did Alexander reach the Hindu Kush?", *American Journal of Philology*, LI (1930).

<sup>4</sup> IV, 8 f.

Ptolemy and Aristobulus, was implicated by the pages, but, says Arrian, most writers do not agree with this and assert that Alexander, from his hatred of Callisthenes, was only too glad to believe the worst about him. Most writers, concludes Arrian, say that Hermolaus and those arrested with him (Callisthenes included, presumably) were stoned to death at once, but Aristobulus says that Callisthenes was carried about with the army in fetters and afterwards died a natural death; while Ptolemy says he was put upon the rack and then hanged. Although he tells the story in connection with Alexander's visit to Zariaspa, Arrian adds that the conspiracy of the pages did not take place at that time but later.

It is not a difficult matter to decide where Cleitus died and where Callisthenes was arrested, for Arrian and Curtius supplement each other. From Zariaspa<sup>5</sup> Alexander's next important move, according to both authors,<sup>6</sup> was to Maracanda, rather late in the year 328 B. C. Curtius specifically states that Cleitus met his death here. That he and Arrian are both speaking of the same visit to Maracanda is confirmed by the fact that each reports similar incidents in connection with it: Artabazus is relieved of his provincial governorship on account of age; Hephaestion is dispatched on a mission, in Arrian, to plant colonies in Sogdiana, in Curtius, to get winter supplies in Bactria.

The winter of 328-327 B. C. was spent at Nautaca. The next spring, according to Arrian,<sup>7</sup> Alexander went to Bactra. Arrian states that the tragedy of Callisthenes and the pages occurred here. Curtius says<sup>8</sup> that Alexander came into the district over which Oxyartes was governor, and we know from Arrian<sup>9</sup> that Oxyartes was a Bactrian. Curtius now tells of the conspiracy of the pages and the arrest of Callisthenes. There cannot be any doubt that Arrian and Curtius are speaking of the same place, for each reports similar business at this time; for example, Alexander sends Craterus against certain rebels, Catanes and Austanes.

<sup>5</sup> The same as Bactra, for Arrian (IV, 1, 5) speaks of it as the chief city of Bactria. According to Arrian (IV, 7, 3) and Curtius (VII, 10, 10) Alexander at this point sent Bessus to Ecbatana to be put to death. Previously (Arr., III, 30, 5), Alexander had sent Bessus to Bactra.

<sup>6</sup> Arr., IV, 16, 3; Curt., VIII, 1, 19.

<sup>7</sup> IV, 22, 1.

<sup>8</sup> VIII, 4, 21.

<sup>9</sup> IV, 18, 4.

All the evidence points to the fact that Cleitus died at Maracanda in 328 B. C., and that Callisthenes was arrested at Bactra in the spring of 327 B. C.

Let us now consider Callisthenes' complicity in the plot. Curtius says that Hermolaus defended Callisthenes. Arrian, reporting Ptolemy and Aristobulus, says that the youths declared that Callisthenes instigated them, but adds that most authors disagree with this and say that Alexander readily believed the worst about Callisthenes because of his dislike for him. Plutarch says <sup>10</sup> that Alexander wrote at once to Craterus, Attalus and Alcetas that the youths alone were responsible, but that later in a letter to Antipater Alexander accused Callisthenes. I think these letters may be genuine for this reason: Arrian states <sup>11</sup> that during this stop at Bactra Alexander sent Craterus with the infantry brigades of Polyperchon, Attalus and Alcetas (and they probably commanded their own troops) against the rebels Catanes and Austanes. In other words, these men were off on an expedition at the time of Callisthenes' arrest and therefore Alexander could have written them. It was natural that Alexander, with the deaths of Philotas, Parmenio and Cleitus laid at his door, should hesitate to accuse Callisthenes so soon thereafter, especially since Callisthenes, in opposing the proscynesis, had voiced the sentiments of his associates.<sup>12</sup> But in a letter to Antipater, back in Macedonia, he could express his opinions openly. I believe, then, on the evidence of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, that the pages accused Callisthenes of plotting; and on the strength of the two letters I think that Alexander privately believed him guilty, but would not take severe measures at once.

Callisthenes' fate remains to be considered. Plutarch says <sup>13</sup> that, according to some, he was hanged by Alexander's orders, presumably at once, but that according to others he was bound and died of sickness, while Chares declares that he was carried about bound in fetters for seven months, and died from obesity and a disease caused by lice. Arrian quotes Aristobulus as saying that Callisthenes was carried around in fetters and afterwards died a natural death, but adds that Ptolemy states he

<sup>10</sup> *Alex.* 55, 3.

<sup>11</sup> *IV*, 22, 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Arr.*, *IV*, 12.

<sup>13</sup> *Loc. cit.*



was hanged. The difference between the statements of Ptolemy and Aristobulus is one of method of death, not necessarily one of time. The testimony of Ptolemy and Aristobulus is the only valuable testimony we have; and I think that the evidence for a lapse of time between the arrest and death of Callisthenes is further strengthened by the two letters. If Alexander wrote Craterus, Attalus and Alcetas that the youths alone were responsible, Callisthenes could hardly have been dead at the moment. Furthermore, in the letter written *later* to Antipater, he says that he "will punish" Callisthenes. Diogenes Laertius says<sup>14</sup> that Callisthenes was shut up in an iron cage, covered with lice, and finally given to a lion and so died. The manner of Callisthenes' death will probably forever remain a mystery.

## II. JUSTIN XII, 15, 1-2 AND 12

[These two passages reflect the Ephemerides as the ultimate source.]

The Ephemerides, as I have indicated, seem to have been a day by day record of matters pertaining to Alexander and his expedition. They were kept by Eumenes of Cardia, the ἀρχιγραμματεὺς, and Diodotus of Erythrae. We have, in addition to some references to the Ephemerides, a few extant fragments. It is not my purpose to discuss the Ephemerides here, since I have already done that in the study mentioned above, but rather to elaborate one point touched upon at that time. The extant fragments of the Ephemerides, as has long been known, are to be found in Arrian,<sup>15</sup> Plutarch,<sup>16</sup> and Aelian,<sup>17</sup> but it seems clear to me that Justin XII, 15 1-2 and 12 definitely reflect the Ephemerides as the ultimate source and therefore should be added to the known fragments.

The extant fragments deal with the last days of Alexander and, in Arrian and Plutarch especially, trace the daily progress of Alexander's fatal illness. The entries for the 25th and the 27th of the month Daesius are important for the present discussion. Arrian says that on the 25th<sup>18</sup> "Alexander, being

<sup>14</sup> *Life of Aristotle*, 6.

<sup>15</sup> VII, 24, 4-26, 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Alex.* 75, 3-76, 4.

<sup>17</sup> *V. H.* III, 23.

<sup>18</sup> The problem of equating the accounts of Arrian and Plutarch is not considered here.

now in a dangerous condition, was brought from the park to the palace. When his officers entered the room, he knew them, but no longer spoke, being speechless. That night he had a high fever." Plutarch gives essentially the same account. In Justin we read that "on the 6th day (*sexta die*) Alexander was speechless." For the 27th Arrian gives in part the following: "The next day he had a high fever. In addition to this, the *Ephemerides* also tell of the desire of the soldiers to see Alexander, some wishing to see him while still alive, others thinking him dead. Many forced their way in. It is said (*λέγουσι*) that when the soldiers passed by him, he could not speak, but greeted each with his right hand, raising his head with difficulty and giving a sign with his eyes." We find substantially the same account in Plutarch. Justin says: "On the 4th day (*quarto die*), Alexander, finding that death was certain, calmed the soldiers who were making a tumult and thought him the victim of a conspiracy; and having been carried to the highest part of the city, admitted them to his presence and gave them his right hand to kiss."

Justin's History is always difficult, not only because it is a severe abridgment of one by Pompcius Trogus, but because the entire background is of doubtful value. In his account of Alexander's death, however, we do find amid the worthless anecdote the two statements quoted above. It is perfectly clear, I think, that these statements are essentially the same as those in Arrian and Plutarch for the 25th and the 27th of the month; and were it not for the fact that I have reversed the sequence of the two statements, we could, without further comment, say that here at least the *Ephemerides* were the ultimate source. Since Justin is reporting the progress of Alexander's illness, naturally the events of the 6th day would come after those of the 4th, but in reality in the Greek original the sequence of events was the reverse. The Greek original gave the days of the month and did not date from the beginning of Alexander's sickness. Thus it came about that the *ἑκτη* (*φθίνοντος*—the 25th of the month) and *τετάρτη* (*φθίνοντος*—the 27th) of the Greek original were twisted in the Latin to mean "on the sixth day from the beginning of the illness" and "on the fourth day." This done, Justin (or Trogus) placed the events of the two days in their proper sequence. To put it another way, if we

translate the "quarto die" and the "sexta<sup>19</sup> die" of Justin back into the Greek, we obtain two dates, the events of which are essentially the same as those in Arrian and Plutarch on those days. These two passages in Justin, then, should be added to the extant fragments of the Ephemerides.

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<sup>19</sup> As for the gender of *sexta*, I can only suggest that once again the Greek original has influenced the Latin.

## THE SACRED TREASURE AND THE RATE OF MANUMISSION.

[This note suggests emending *nongenta* to *nonaginta* in Orosius 6, 15, 5 and *et* to *i. e.* in Pliny 33, 55. The conclusion is that the *aerarium sanctius* of Rome contained gold and silver in 49 B. C. valued at about 12,000,000 denarii, that Sulla had emptied the treasury in 82 B. C., and that the average number of manumissions between 81 and 49 B. C. was nearly 16,000 per year.]

Numerals were so recklessly copied by the medieval scribes that historians in encountering inconsistencies in them frequently give up in despair and omit what might prove to be important information. In attempting an account of Caesar's finances one comes at once upon the confused statements of the amount which he found in the "sacred treasury" in 49 B. C.<sup>1</sup> Pliny (33, 55) has the amount as follows: *laterum aureorum XV, argenteorum XXX et in numerato [CCC]*. This is the text given by Mayhoff, as well as by Sillig, based upon a fair agreement of the better manuscripts. But Pliny does not tell how much the *lateres* weighed. Orosius (6, 15, 5) is somewhat more definite, giving—probably from Livy—definite weights: *auri pondo quattuor milia centum triginta et quinque, argenti prope nongenta milia*. If the gold mentioned by Pliny (15,000 *lateres*) was the same as the 4135 pounds of Orosius, each *later* would weigh about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ounces and would coin into 10 aurei of the type last coined, that is, the aureus of Pompey weighing one thirty-sixth of a pound (Bahrfieldt, *Röm. Goldmünzen*, p. 29). Hence the *lateres* would be worth about 1,000 sesterces each. This fact, since the Romans regularly reckoned large amounts in 1,000 sesterces, is striking enough to justify the belief that Orosius and Pliny are correct about the gold.

The statements about the silver are not as easy to control, but there is a coincidence here also that seems significant: the "30,000,000 *numerato* in Pliny happens to correspond with Orosius, if we read *prope nonaginta* for *prope nongenta* in the latter; for 90,000 pounds of silver will make just over 30,000,000 sesterces. This coincidence will probably justify the emenda-

<sup>1</sup> For the seizure of the treasury see Dio 41, 17; Cic. *Att.* 7, 21; App. *B. C.* 2, 41; Plut. *Caes.* 35; *Caes. B. C.* 1, 14.

tion, especially since *naugenta* (about 450 tons!) is absurd, as Mommsen says (*Münzsagen* 401).

Then what are we to do with Pliny's 30,000 *lateres* of silver for which Orosius has nothing? If silver bullion, like gold, was stored in pieces worth 1,000 sesterces, then the striking conclusion emerges that the 30,000 *lateres* make precisely the same amount as the *numerato*; in other words the *numerato* is an explicative calculation of the value of the *lateres*; and instead of *et* we should probably read *i. e.*<sup>2</sup> Hence it would seem that, with two slight emendations, the amount given by Orosius (4135 pounds of gold and 90,000 pounds of silver) agrees precisely with that given by Pliny (15,000 *lateres* gold—each worth 1,000 sesterces—plus 30,000 *lateres* silver—each worth 1,000 sesterces—that is, 30,000,000 sesterces). The coincidence in the values of the gold and silver *lateres*, the added coincidence in the equivalence of the silver *lateres* with the *numerato*, and finally the fact that all the *lateres* prove thus to contain metal to the value of 1,000 sesterces seem to me to provide a confirmation of these easy emendations. What Caesar then found in the sacred treasury was a store of gold and silver worth nearly 12,000,000 denarii, enough to pay his legions for several months at the new rate that he introduced.

Now we may take the next step. We know that the *aerarium sanctius* was established in the fourth century B. C. to provide funds from a five per cent manumission tax in case of Gallic invasions (Livy 7, 16, 6), and that it was emptied in 209 during the darkest period of the Hannibalic war (Livy 27, 10, 11). After that it is seldom mentioned during the Republic, though Cicero refers to it in 59 (*Att.* 2, 16). The inscriptions of the Empire frequently record the collectors of the tax (Hirschfeld, *Verwalt.* 106). There was therefore no intermission in the collection.

But what interests us here is that we may discover that Sulla also emptied this treasury before Caesar. There is no explicit record of the fact, though we ought to assume it because Sulla

<sup>2</sup> It would be easy to assume a confusion in the manuscript between the standard medieval abbreviations of *et* and *id est*, but I fear that the error is just one of the all too many that we have to attribute to Pliny's excerptors and research helpers, for Pliny's own comment indicates surprise at the size of the amount.

was so far bankrupt in 82 that he not only proscribed some two thousand men for their wealth but also melted up the treasures of temples (*aurea atque argentea templorum ornamenta . . . conflata sunt*: Val. Max. 7, 6, 4; cf. App. B. C. 1, 96). If he used other temple treasures, he could hardly have avoided taking the special store of the five per cent tax. But we can, I think, reach certainty in the matter. We have noticed that the ingots of gold, weighing  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ounces, would be worth 1,000 sesterces if the gold-silver ratio was that of Pompey's issue of aurei, that is, 36 to the pound. Pompey's aureus was probably struck in 80 B. C.,<sup>3</sup> and it was sixteen per cent lighter than the gold coins struck by Sulla's coiners in 86-82 and about eleven per cent heavier than those of Caesar in 49-44. In other words the ingots that Caesar found were cast at a ratio that the treasury had established after 82 and before 80. Hence we can be sure that Sulla had emptied this treasury and, since there was no serious occasion to use it between 82 and 49, we may be sure that what Caesar found was the accumulation of that period.

We may hazard a third step. Since the treasury had accumulated about 12,000,000 denarii in 32 years from a five per cent manumission tax we may discover something about the number of slaves set free at Rome, if we know the average price of slaves. Our data for Rome are very scarce and usually concern high prices paid for very valuable slaves. Our best collection of prices comes from the famous manumission records of Delphi (Foucart, *Main d'oeuvre*, 107), and these may fairly be used because Greek prices of slaves were largely determined by the Roman purchases at the famous market at Delos. The average price at Delphi is 400 drachmas. To be sure, a price set with a view to the tax that has to be paid will naturally be somewhat lower than normal, but that was as true at Rome as in Greece. We also know that, when the corn dole became very lavish at Rome after 63, many owners freed their decrepit

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen and Bahrfieldt date these coins of Pompey in 81; others have proposed 61. They are triumphal coins, and the head of Africa upon them and their relative scarcity speak strongly for an early date. Pompey probably did not triumph till 79 so that they were probably not designed before 80 B. C. But it is likely that they have the ratio adopted by the treasury for gold when new accumulations came in after 82.

slaves for the state to feed them (Dio 39, 24). Such slaves would be very cheap. On the other hand the slaves that bought their freedom or that won manumission because of good service were doubtless above the average. These two classes of cheap and expensive slaves will perhaps offset each other. If we allow for some difference between the Greek and the Roman market, we may, I think, assume about 500 denarii as the average manumission price at Rome during the last century of the Republic. The sum of 12,000,000 denarii would then represent nearly 500,000 manumissions during 32 years, or about 16,000 per year. This will seem a reasonable number to those who recall how freely slaves were freed at Rome. Cicero, for instance, though far from being wealthy, had some ten freedmen in his familia. My conclusion, then, is that the sacred treasury contained metal in 49 B. C. valued at about 12,000,000 denarii, that Sulla had emptied the treasury in 82 B. C., and that the average number of manumissions between 81 and 49 B. C. was nearly 16,000 per year.

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## ADFATIM, FATISCI, FESSUS.

[*Adfatim* not meaning "to weariness"; connection with *fatigare* not proved; probably to be explained, according to primitive sense of *fatisci*, as "to (the point of) cracking." *Fessus* regarded by Lucretius as participle, not of *fatiscor*, but of *fendo*; this derivation possible.]

In Paul. Fest. 11 M. the definition of *adfati*m by *abundanter* is followed by the remark: Terentius dixit pro eo quod est ad lassitudinem. Ribbeck, Com. 5, remarking that *adfati*m does not occur in Terence, suggested Titinius. Of more importance than the evident corruption of the name is the fact that Paulus gives no quotation; Festus probably had one, and there are two possibilities as to its character.

The first is that it was such as to prove that *fatim* actually meant *lassitudinem*. This was the opinion of Mueller, who says in his note: "Haec sine dubio primaria significatio vocis *fatisci* fuit"; so too Lindsay, Lat. Lang. 563, Brugmann, Indog. Gram. II 724, Walde s. v. *fatigo*. Perhaps all were influenced by the consideration that the interpretation seemed to furnish an etymology for *fatigare*; but no one has yet explained the mode of derivation; and so long as the formation of verbs in *-igare* remains obscure (Stolz-Lieumann, § 225, d) it seems safer not to accept the etymology as supporting the interpretation. And it has no other support; the many passages in which *adfati*m occurs admit of no other equivalent than *abunde* or, as Gloss. V 436 has it, *ad satietatem*. True, the gloss also gives *ad lassitudinem*; but this proves nothing more than that the unsupported interpretation had been handed down.

The second possibility is that *ad l.* was only a paraphrase which seemed to suit the use of *adf.* in a particular passage. Of such paraphrasing we have an example in Paul. Fest. 71 M.: deliquum Plautus posuit pro minus. Here too there is no quotation; but Pl. Cas. 207 shows what is meant, namely, that for the obsolete *delicuom* a modern writer would here use *minus*. An example of another kind is Donat. Eun. 290: miror pro nescio; either the latter word seemed to the scholiast normal in such a connection, or he wished simply to remark that "I wonder why" implies ignorance. A third is Serv. Aen. 1. 185: errantes: pascentes; the commentator intended only to visualize the situation, but gave to his note the same form as that on



2. 31: innupta: quae numquam nubit, where he is actually offering an interpretation.

In the line from Livius, which Paulus cites to illustrate the rendering by *abundanter*, the adverb belongs in the first place to *edi bibi* and only secondarily to *lusi*; but the presence of the third verb suggests how a simple *adfatum lusi*, still more an *a. laboravi*, might have led to the paraphrase *ad lassitudinem*. No such combination occurs; but some light may be had from comparing Apul. Met. 9. 28, *adfatum plagis castigatum*, with Plaut. Rud. 758, *virgis te usque ad saturitatem sauciem*, and Ps. 216, *usque ad languorem* (sc. *vapules*); that in Thes. L. L. I 545, 25, the citation of the last passage is accompanied by a reference to Paul. Fest. 11 M., is instructive, not as proving that *adfatum* and *ad languorem* are synonymous, but as showing how easily they may, in this connection, be so regarded.

*Fatisci* is usually derived from *fatis*. It is not possible to derive it, as Walde does, from *a.fatis* meaning "Erschöpfung"; for "to become exhausted" is only the secondary sense of the verb. Nonius gives *aperiri* as the primary signification; more precise is the *hiscere* which Servius, Aen. 1. 123, thought to be contained in *fatis cere*; perhaps it would be most exactly defined by the *rimas agere* of Cic. Att. 14. 9. 1; Virgil's *rimis fatiscunt* is a picturesque pleonasm. The noun, if related, must have corresponded in meaning to this first, and so to speak, physical, signification of the verb; and such a correspondence Ernout, *Éléments Dialectaux du Vocabulaire Latin* 159, following Bréal and Bailly, Dict. Étym., finds by relating *fatis* to *χαίρω χάσκω* and translating *ad fatim* by "à crevaison." This theory is attractive, as permitting us to see in *adf. esse bibere* the metaphor, which dictionaries show contained in the application to excess in eating and drinking of Fr. *crever*, Ger. *bersten*, and Eng. "burst" and "split". Now it is true that the I. E. guttural which yields initial *χ* in Greek is in Latin normally represented by initial *h*, except when the guttural is followed by *u*, either vowel or consonant (Buck, AJP, XI, 216). A very few exceptions are however recognized; Sommer, Lautl.<sup>2</sup> 196, lists the following: fel *χόλος*, fovea *χεά*, faux *χάος*. This *f* is generally regarded as dialectic, in Stolz-Leumann, 135, also as old Latin (Festus), which is denied by Planta, Osk.-Umbr. Dial. I 443; see also Osthoff, Morph. Unters. IV 99. Planta

says: "Das *f* scheint einem nicht näher zu umgränzenden Gebiete nördlich und nordöstlich von Rom zu beiden Seiten des Tiber anzugehören. Das Gebiet kann ganz nahe an die Stadt Rom gereicht haben, braucht aber andererseits keineswegs das ganze Sabinische umfasst zu haben." Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, 94, speaks of "the substitution of *f* for *h*" as "characteristic of rustic Latin and some of the neighboring minor dialects." The matter is not perfectly clear; nor is it clear why this dialecticism, or rusticity, should appear in a very few urban words. But, the fact once admitted, there seems no reason why *fatīs* should not be brought under a phonological classification which yields for it so appropriate a signification.

The statement of Priscian, II 429 K., that *fessus* is the participle of *fatisci*, implies that there was once a form *fassus*; the consequent change of vowel has been variously explained: by the influence of the compound *defessus*, Sommer, *Lautl.*<sup>2</sup> 604; by differentiation from *fateor fassus* and influence of *pressus*, H. Brender, *Glotta* XX 46 ff.; by differentiation and decomposition, Kent "No Trespass in Latin Linguistics" in "Studies in Honor of John C. Rolfe" 150. There is however no real evidence that *fassus* ever existed; for it is not to be supposed that Seneca really wrote *fassa* in *Contr.* 2. 5. 5 (*Thes. L. L.* VI 609, 62); and, considering the amount of corruption undergone by the text of glosses, it is quite possible to suppose that *farsa*, *Gl.* IV 74, 10, stands for *fessa*, not, as is assumed (*Thes. L. L.* VI 352, 63 and 609, 16) for *fassa*. Of course *fassus* must be assumed to have existed, if Priscian's statement is true; but Lucretius cannot have agreed with Priscian; else he could not have written (*ab*) *aevo fessa fatisci*, 2. 458, 5. 308. For in such a collocation the participle must express the antecedent action and cause, the finite verb the resulting act or condition, as in *Cic. Ac.* 7 *fatigati relinquentur*, *Rep.* 2. 59 *debilitata deficeret*, *Verg. G.* 1. 180 *pulvere victa fatiscat*, *A.* 12. 255 *vi victus . . . defecit*, *Plin. N. H.* 11. 54 *lassata defecit*, *Stat. S.* 5. 1. 35 *exsiccata fatiscet*. This expression of cause and result could not be produced by different forms of the same verb. Whether the verb is used in metaphor or not, makes no difference; if the Roman expressed "worn out" and "break down" (Munro's translation) by "cracking" and "cracked," he could not express "worn out with age break down" by what would, quite obviously to him, be "cracking with age crack."

That Lucretius had in mind a quite different primary meaning of the participle and used it with full consciousness of that meaning, can, I think, be inferred from the way in which he elsewhere speaks of the operation of time on matter. To time he attributes strength (3. 152): he represents it as battering at matter (3. 451) or breaking it (1. 553, 557 ff., 2. 1132). Propertius has the same figure, 3. 2. 22 (4. 1. 62) *annorum aut ictus (al. ictu) pondera victa ruent*. Cracking may result from blows: Verg. A. 9: 806 *saxis solida aera fatiscunt*, Val. Fl. 4. 48 *icta fatiscit aquis*, Sil. 9. 322 *clipeusque fatiscit impulsu clipei*. If we suppose that Lucretius took *fessus* to mean primarily "struck, beaten," we see how *quassatum viribus aevi*, 3. 451, corresponds to *aevo fessa*, 458; how the Propertian *ictus ruent* matches the Lucretian *fessa obruat*, 3. 774; how *aetatis spatio defessa vetusto*, 2. 1174, fits into the poet's manner of conceiving the action of time. And, if we extend the supposition to Virgil, his *fessis rebus* appears as a direct poetical version of Cicero's *adflictis rebus* (cp. Thes. L. L. V 323, 45), and his *fessas naves* corresponds to his *quassatam classem* and to Horace's *rates quassas*. That such an interpretation existed in antiquity, is suggested by Serv. Aen. 5. 29; *fessas naves pro nos fessos; vel fessas quassas nec ad plenum refectas*; from the second part of this note it seems as if the commentator had found and copied the definition of *fessas* by *quassas*, but, not understanding it, had added *et n. r.* to make the interpretation draw nearer to the familiar conception of *fessus* as *lassus*.

Assuming that the two poets thus conceived of *fessus* and *defessus*, the reason for the conception is obvious; *defessus* was regarded as a variant of *defensus*. *Defendere* means "beat off," but might also mean "beat down"; for a like variation in the force of the prefix cp. *deicere* and *detrudere*; for the differentiation in meaning of the two forms cp. the distinction commonly, though not invariably, made in Silver Latin between *lautus* and *lotus*. Thus *defessus* = *defatigatus* would show the same figure of speech as Eng. "knocked up" for "exhausted" and Fr. *battu de fatigue*.

The view of Conway, Class. Rev. V (1891), 297, based on Curtius, Etym., 255 that both *fendo* and *tendo* have nasal stems with a -do- suffix, is accepted by Lindsay, Lat. Lang., 486, by Brugmann, Grundr. I 600, and by Walde; the fact that Sommer,

Lautl.<sup>2</sup> 502, mentions only *tendo* shows perhaps that he is sceptical as to *fendo*. But even though admitting that *fendo* stands to *θείρω* as *tendo* to *τείρω*, we must recognize that the latter shows its nasal stem clearly in the retention of the participle *tentus*, for which *tensus* appears in compounds only about the first century B. C., while the compounds of the obsolete *fendo* show *-ns-* in the earliest literature. How long before the literary period this change, if change there was, took place, we cannot know; it may have come so early as to accustom the Roman to regard *defendo* like any other present in *-nd-*, and to permit a form *defessus* to arise, like *passus* and *fissus* and the late *fressus*, which Lindsay, Lat. Lang. 115, regards as probably a vulgar form, as *defessus* also may have been.

It would be simpler if we could assume that *fessus* was formed first, on the analogy of *fissus*. But the literary evidence seems to prove that *fessus* was created much later, probably for metrical convenience, by decomposition. The first instance which can be dated, and the first in prose, is Cic. Planc. 26; but Arat. 68, Catullus and Lucretius show that it had previously been used in poetry. Caesar uses only *defessus*; that Cicero adopted *fessus* into familiar language is shown by its occurrence in Ac. 1. 1 and Att. 15. 9. 1, where the tone is very different from that of Planc. 26. Varro adopted it; that it nevertheless retained in later literature a certain poetic association is suggested by the fact that it is preferred by Tacitus and avoided by Suetonius.

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## REPORTS.

HERMES, LXVI (1931).

Bemerkungen zur Hecyra des Terenz (1-29). W. Schadewaldt shows that the complicated plot hinges on the following chronology: The marriage of Pamphilus and Philumena took place without their knowing that they had met in clandestine embrace two months before; further, owing to the immediate departure of Pamphilus on a journey, the first marital union took place two months after the marriage; finally the child was born seven months after the marriage in the absence of Pamphilus. Philumena anticipating an illegitimate child returns to her mother Myrrina, hoping to hide her disgrace. Phidippus, Philumena's father, is satisfied that it is a case of a seven-months child (v. 531), and so blames the stepmother Sostrata as the cause of Philumena's return to her mother. Pamphilus comes home, discovers the child, which to him was clearly not his own, and, although he loves his wife, feels that in duty to his mother he must divorce Philumena. The dénouement is brought about by means of Philumena's ring, which, obtained on the fateful night, Pamphilus had given to the hetaira Bacchis.

Beiträge zum griechischen Strafrecht. I. Die Entstehung der Popularklage (30-48). Kurt Latte traces steps in the development of Greek criminal jurisdiction from archaic private vengeance and self-redress to the establishment of a legal system, citing passages from Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, the Orators, the laws of Gortyn etc. In the early communities there existed three rivaling groups: the patriarchal clan, the peasants of a village, and the aristocratic union of comrades at arms. The shout of a member brings to his assistance the fellows of his group (*βοηθεῖν*), but when Solon established τὸ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλευμένῳ [*τιμωρεῖν*] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων (Arist. polit. 9, 4), he severed the bond that held the old groups together. Cleisthenes carried the reform further. In the place of group violence, the members assisted in legal processes. In Thuc. VIII, 54, 4 we read of the ξυνωμοσίαι, αἵπερ ἐτύγχανον πρότερον ἐν τῇ πόλει οὔσαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς. The orators appeal to the judges: *βοηθεῖν τοῖς νόμοις, τῇ πόλει*. However Polybius (13, 8, 3 ff.) gives an example of the old cry *βοήθεια*, help!

Aristidesstudien (49-70). Friedrich Lenz discusses the question whether the MSS of Aristides were derived from a single archetype (cf. *A. J. P.*, LII, 372).

Sappho's Gedicht ΦΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΜΟΙ ΚΗΝΟΣ (71-90). B. Snell undertakes a subtle analysis of this poem, comparing it with Catullus' translation. He tries to show that the latter is a

poem of jealousy, whereas Sappho's poem was composed to celebrate a wedding.

Zu Polybios, XXXI, 12 ff. (91-96). Ernst Hohl shows that the account of Demetrius' flight from Rome is simple and straightforward; it is not made up of two versions as L. Laqueur tried to show (cf. *A. J. P.*, LII, 371).

Das Bürgerrecht der sympolitischen Bundesstaaten bei den Griechen (97-118). W. Schwahn shows, from the evidence of inscriptions and historians, that citizenship in the federated groups of Greek city states was valid in each member of the federation. Of course an individual could exercise his rights only in the πόλις inhabited; but he could move to another without hindrance. The question has been obscured by numerous inscriptions that deal with honorary titles.

Miszellen: Chr. Blinkenberg (119-122) gives an interesting account of the reading of the potter's name on a small pyxis in the national museum at Copenhagen no. 953, and on a similar vase in the British museum (cf. Hoppin, *Handbook of Attic red-figured vases* II 1919, p. 173 and *Handbook of Greek black-figured vases* 1924, p. 467). Read Γαυρίων instead of resp. Γαῦρις or Μαυρίων.—W. Weinberger (122-124) criticizes Ohly's arguments for disproving the theory of Birt (*Buchwesen* 351 etc.) that MSS had been dictated to groups of penmen. He himself admits that there is no positive proof of this theory.—Otto Weinreich (124-5) suggests that Mor. Haupt's comment on Catullus' verse: *odi et amo*: "in einem Distichon ein ganzes Menschenleben" (Chr. Belger—Mor. Haupt als akad. Lehrer, p. 246, A. 1) was somehow influenced by a comedy of Nicostratus II, where a similar comment is made on a verse from Euripides' *Stheneboia* (Frg. 661 N): Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πάντ' ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖ (cf. Stob. *Ecl.* IV 41, 48).—W. Peek (125) emends ἡ Μοῖρα, ἡ παντεπίπασιν εὐδουσα (Delamarre *Ö. Jahresh.* III (1900) 48 IX, and *Beitr. z. gr. Inschriftenk.* p. 27 and 169) to read: ἡ πάντ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι νέουσα, 'Die den Menschen alles zuspinnt'.—A. Busse (126-128) tries to show that J. Geffcken (*Hermes* LXV, p. 19 ff.) misunderstood Libanius' (V 85 ff.) discussion of the Pindar citation in Pl. *Gorgias* 484 b, and says "Polykrates hat die Pindarstelle δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον wortgetreu zitiert; Libanios aber hat nur den *Gorgias* eingesehen, wo er die Lesart unserer handschriftlichen Überlieferung βιαιών τὸ δικαιοτάτον fand etc." This reading, Busse assumes, was due to some sophist.

Beiträge zum griechischen Strafrecht II. Die Strafen (129-158). Kurt Latte discusses the various forms of punishment meted out for murder, manslaughter in self-defense, adultery, theft etc., from early times down to the time of the Orators.

The *lex talionis* (Charondas) was probably of short duration. The laws of Draco, which Demades said were "written in blood" (Plut. Sol. 17, 3), were in many cases astonishingly mild. Cases of imprisonment as a punishment are cited; but down into the classical period the only actual punishments were death, banishment, fines and confiscations. In the archaic period the application of the death penalty by the state was much restricted. The questions of guilt and degrees of guilt yield interesting information.

Über das Lob des Landlebens in Virgils Georgica (159-189). Friedrich Klingner gives a minute analysis of book II from v. 420 to the end. "Jedes wort, jeder Satz, jede Versgruppe und jeder gröszere Teil steht in funktionalen Zusammenhängen und Wechselwirkungen, die zusammen eine bewegte Harmonie ausmachen, welche jeder spürt der für dergleichen empfänglich ist."

Die Orestie des Aischylos (190-214). Albin Lesky gives a brief review of the tradition on which Aeschylus based his trilogy. According to the *Odyssey* ( $\alpha$  29 ff.;  $\gamma$  239 ff.;  $\delta$  512 ff.;  $\lambda$  404 ff.) Aegisthus slew Agamemnon, Clytaemestra and Cassandra; but from Stesichorus (fg. 15 Diehl) and Pindar *Pyth.* XI 17 ff., it is evident that Clytaemestra had become the central figure before Aeschylus composed his trilogy. This is substantiated by vase paintings. Material for the Eumenides was given by Attic legends showing  $\xi\acute{\nu}\nu\alpha\iota$  of Orestes in Athens, Orestes' protection at the foot of the palladium, and the legend that the twelve gods judged the case of the Eumenides against Orestes on the Areopagus (Dem. XXIII, 65 ff.). Lesky's chief contribution, however, is his ingenious analysis of the spiritual and moral content of the play. An ominous gloom throughout the Agamemnon is relieved by moments of joy; the apprehensive choruses are interrupted by the information carried by the beacon signal and by Agamemnon's return. The watchman presages both moods at the opening of the play. The dramatic Cassandra scene establishes a bond that unifies the three plays. While the curse resting on the house of the Pelopids has entailed one tragedy after another, yet there is room for personal responsibility; but above all it is Zeus who brings all things to pass, an ever recurring note, in which Aeschylus expresses a deep religious conviction.

Zum  $\Pi\text{Π}\text{Ο}\text{Α}\text{Ο}\text{Γ}\text{Ο}\Sigma$  des Platonikers Albinos (215-226). Otmar Schissel follows J. Freudenthal (*Hellenistische Studien* III, Berlin 1879, 260 f.) in making use of Diog. Laert. III 49-51, in his efforts to restore Albinus' classification of Plato's dialogues. However, he finds that Diogenes' classification can only be used in a restricted sense. He presents tables of classi-

fication: a complicated one of Albinus in comparison with one of Diogenes; finally a tentative one of the original text of Albinus.

Zum Opferritus (227-234). L. Ziehen proves, by means of a coin from Nysa and a red-figured vase in the Hamilton collection, that *αἰρεσθαι τοὺς βοῦς* (IG II 467, l. 10 f. etc.) meant that the steers were actually raised aloft by lusty youths. He further interprets Il. Y 403 ff. in the light of Athen. Mitteil. XXXIV 1909, 85 ff., and Cook, Zeus I, p. 504, fig. 368, which make it probable that the youths dragged the steer around the altar by his horns.

Miszellen. Johannes Th. Kakridis (235-238) has called attention to the similarity between the pairs Apollo-Admetus in Hesiod and Poseidon-Pelops in Pindar (cf. A. J. P., L, pp. 293 ff.) and now shows that just as Poseidon assisted Pelops as his former *ἐπαρτής*, so it is probable that Pindar likewise introduced the *παιδικὸς ἔρως* as the motive for Apollo's serving Admetus. Pindar evidently did not regard paederasty as reprehensible. Finally Heracles is also represented as an *ἐπαρτής* of Admetus in imitation of the Apollo version (cf. Plut. *Eroticus* 761 E, Bern. 4, 432 f., and Clemens Alex., *Strom.* I 383).—E. Bethe (239-240) argues that the seated figure holding out the golden apple to Aphrodite is not Zeus (Wilamowitz), but Paris (cf. A. J. P., LII, p. 373). Evidently the judgment of Paris was known in Sparta at the beginning of the VII century B. C. "Es ist eine naiv schöne Erfindung eines Homeriden, die Entführung der lakonischen Helena durch den Troer zu erklären, etc." As Bethe believes that the *Iliad* and *Cyclic* poems were composed after 600 B. C., he regards the above archaeological evidence as important for his theories.

Demetrius *ΠΕΡΙ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ* und sein peripatetisches Quellenmaterial (241-267). Friedrich Solmsen bases this investigation on the book of J. Stroux, *De Theophrasti virtutibus dicendi* (Leipzig 1912), which shows that the four *χαρακτῆρες* of Demetrius correspond to the four *ἀρεταὶ λέξεως* of Theophrastus, and sums up his results as follows: "Abgesehen von diesen Komplexen (i. e. three exceptions), haben wir aber jetzt die gesamte stilistische Beschreibung der *χαρακτῆρες* unseres Autors auf die peripatetische Rhetorik zurück geführt und sie in deren System genau lokalisiert. He concludes with remarks on the influence of Isocrates on the Peripatetics.

Zu Text und Textgeschichte der Republik Ciceros (268-301). K. Ziegler cites several passages in the letters to Atticus in which Cicero asked him to correct certain errors; in the case of the misspelt Philiuntius (Rep. II 4, 8), which is the reading of the palimpsest, to write Phliasius. That other corrections



or alterations were made by Cicero himself is made probable by several passages of the *Tuscul. Disputations* I 53 ff., which Cicero repeated from the sixth book of the *Republic*; but which show improvements on the extant text of the *Somnium Scipionis*, as proved by the Greek text of Pl. Phaedr. He shows further that the text in Macrobius' commentary agrees with the improved text of the *Tusculans*. The continuous text of the *Somnium* was not joined to his commentary by Macrobius, as the editions of Jan and Eyssenhardt lead one to suppose; but is a later addition. Finally Ziegler defends a number of the readings in his new (1929) text of the *Republic*. He finds frequent occasions to differ with Hauler.

Die Verurteilung der römischen Feldherrn von Arausio (302-316). J. Lengle shows that the condemnation and exile of Q. Servilius Caepio and Cn. Mallius Maximus was due to the defeat of the Roman armies at Arausio Oct. 6, 105 B. C., in opposition to the commonly held views, which are under the influence of Mommsen, who argued that Caepio's condemnation was due to the disappearance of the temple treasures of Tolosa, which occasioned the *quaestio auri Tolosani*. Lengle's conclusion would adduce an exception to Mommsen's statement in *Staatsr.* 2, 230 Anm. 2: "Geschlagene, auch durch eigene Schuld geschlagene Feldherrn sind nie zu gerichtlicher Rechenschaft gezogen worden."

Zu griechischen Epigrammen aus Ägypten (317-336). W. Peek emends a number of epigrams published in Preisigke's collection and elsewhere.

Boiotische Stadtanleihen aus dem dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr. (337-346). W. Schwahn writes a financial commentary to three inscriptions recording adjustments of debts incurred by three towns of Boeotia, published in *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*, vol. 8, 1923, pp. 182 ff. By means of clever calculations he determines the original loans, the several rates of interest and the curious fact that the financial year in Boeotia had only 348 days.

Menippos ΠΕΡΙ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ (347-354). J. Geffcken following R. Helm shows a number of agreements of Lucian's *περὶ θυσιών* with Varro (cf. *fgmts.* 94-100), an epigram of Meleager, who was a Menippean, and Arnobius' discussion of sacrifices (bk. 7). Lucian's history of sacrifices (§ 10) is probably also a Menippean feature.

Zwei Interpretationen. (355-361). O. Schröder interprets *Thuc.* II 40-1 and emends § 4: *βεβαιώτερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν <ώσείτε> ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ᾗ δέδωκε <σώζων>*. He also elucidates *Marcus Ant. εἰς ἑαυτόν* (B 11) to show that the sentence: *ὁ δὲ χεῖρω μὴ ποιεῖ ἄνθρωπον, πῶς ἂν τοῦτο βίον ἀνθρώπου χεῖρω*

ποιήσκειν expresses the central thought of this chapter. He proposes for οὐτ' ἂν τηλικούτον ἤμαρτεν (§ 3) to read οὐδ' ἂν.

Miszellen: A. Grosskinsky (362-367) discusses Herodotus IV 186-191 to explain his reverting to the Libyan nomads in cc. 187-190; and concludes that the emphatic οὐδὲ—οὐδέ in 187 was due to Herodotus' criticism of Hecataeus, whose periegesis had mentioned nomads west of lake Tritonis, which is proved by fragments of Hecataeus.—A. Busse (367-368) agrees now with Wilamowitz (Platon. II 95) in defending the MS reading βαιῶν τὸ δικάϊστατον in Gorgias 484 B. The almighty νόμος upholds by force the right (i. e. of the stronger).—B. Snell (368) states as a correction to page 73, 1 (above), that the new Oxyrh. pap. agrees with the old papyrus in having a δέ after ὕμνην (cf. Diehl, p. 354, note 6: num pro ὕμνον).

At this point Alfred Körte inserts an obituary of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff († 25. 9. 1931), telling of the important relations he had held with the Hermes journal.

Die Entstehungsgeschichte der römischen Stenographic (369-386). A. Mentz cites all the evidence: the important sketch of Isidorus (Orig. I 22), the brief notes of Hieronymus yr. 2013, Plut. Cato minor 23, 3, Cassius Dio, hist. Rom. 55, 7 and Ps. Manilius, Astronomica IV 197-199. Mentz combines these statements with a close study of the ancient lists of notae, known as the commentarii notarum Tironianarum (CNT), and reaches the following conclusions:—Tiro invented symbols for words without regard for varying endings, largely indeclinables. These symbols were technically termed *praepositiones* (Isid. orig.) to distinguish them from the *declinationes*, the invention of Vipsanius, which were symbols for the endings. Then Aquila, influenced by a recently invented Greek shorthand, joined symbols for endings to a constant stem-symbol. Seneca collected the inventions of all three, made additions of his own, and so established the nucleus of the CNT as we have them today.

Der Zeushymnos des Kleanthes (387-401). E. Neustadt in a detailed analysis points out first of all the traditional forms of prooemium and exodium. Further he shows the conventional antithesis in the eulogy: "durch dich alles—ohne dich nichts" (Norden), which agrees remarkably with the proem of Lucretius in letting a digression separate positive and negative. Other agreements with Lucretius show how Cleanthes' parenthetical eulogy led up to the κελαινεφής ἀρχικέραννος which is to light up the darkness of human folly. Most remarkable is the agreement of passage after passage with the utterances of Heraclitus; "Sein Weltbild ohne Herakleitos undenkbar." Yet there is a fundamental difference, as Heraclitus advocates the reign of intellect, whereas Kleanthes was filled with a moral purpose to reform the world.

Praefanda (402-412). A. E. Housman publishes with Latin commentaries a selection of Priapea, epigrams of Martial, and extracts from Suetonius etc. of a similar character. The first extract is from Catullus 56, who began his poem with "O rem ridiculam."

Zum Verständnis von Vergilius Aeneis B. VI (Randbemerkungen zu Nordens Kommentar) (413-441). Karl Kerényi shows that all three praecepta Sibyllae are justified: the burial of Misenus, the securing of the golden bough and the sacrifice. The significance of the golden bough is shown at length. Demeter as a suppliant had carried it to the lower world; hence to Charon it appeared as the venerabile donum fatalis virgae, longo post tempore visum (408 ff.). It appeared to Aeneas as a sort of mistletoe (204-209). The nature of this parasite and the mysticism associated with it is discussed. The entrance to Hades takes place at dawn together with Hecate and her wild rabble, the return to earth takes place through the gateway of false dreams; he awakens as it were from a dream; a reader may consider it all a dream. The last point reached in the marvellous journey is clearly placed in the upper regions of air (v. 887). Antonius Diogenes' τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἀμυστα (cf. Rohde, Der gr. Rom. 268 ff.), and Plut. De sera num. vind. 22 etc. show that Vergil followed his source into the sphere of the moon. The article concludes with a discussion of Die kosmischen Punkte der Hadesfahrt.

Der Demeter-Hymnos des Philikos (442-454). Alfred Körte publishes this papyrus fragment of the III century B. C., which appeared first in Stud. Ital. di Filol. Class. N. S. V. (1927), and again in 1931, in the same journal, throws light on the interpretation, and makes it probable that Peitho speaks in vv. 23-50.

Nachträge zur Kyrenesage (455-464). H. Drexler mediating between F. Studniczka (Kyrene, eine altgriechische Göttin, Leipzig 1890), L. Malten (Kyrene, Philol. Unters. Heft 20, Berlin 1911) and G. Pasquali (Quaestiones Callimacheae, Götting. 1913) shows that this legend was originally localized in Thessaly, without including Cyrene's struggle with a lion. Pindar introduced the lion incident into the Thessalian legend on account of his hero Telesicrates, following a Cyrenaic legend of the λεοντοφόνος, which is illustrated in a relief in Olympia.

Miszellen: Carl Wendel (465-467) shows that the name of the mythographer in no. 42 of Jacoby's hist. figmts. should be spelled Δημαρέτης. R. Laqueur (467-469) proposes "proceSSIONAL song" as a translation of θεμοστεία (Strabo XVII 1, 43, p. 814), in place of "oracle." The verb θεμοστεύειν expresses the corresponding action. W. Kroll (469-472) shows, mainly on the

basis of Naevius' eulogy of Scipio (com. 108 ff.) that he died in Utica not as an exile of the Metelli, for he had gone there in company with Scipio as the herald of his deeds, just as Fulvius Nobilior had Ennius to accompany him some years later. Otto Kern (473) emends the Orphic fgmt. 56 from Apion (Clemens Romanus. Homil. VI, 5-12) to read <κρᾱδιαίου> σχισθέντος πολυχανδέος οἰοῦ. The world egg, as the sun in Proclus (Helius I Vs 5/6), is the καρδία τοῦ κόσμου. W. Peek (474-477) publishes three Greek epigrams, with commentary. E. Köstermann (477/8), commenting on Tac. ann. 1, 19, lets incipientis modify principis, meaning "in the beginning of Tiberius' reign." This use of princeps occurs in Plin. nat. h. II 93, and in Plin. paneg, 24, 1 and 57, 2.

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, LXXVIII (1929), Heft 3-4.

Pp. 225-248. S. Luria, Entstellungen des Klassikertextes bei Stobaios (continuation of I and II, pp. 81-104). III. Consideration and emendation of passages in which the text has suffered from the introduction by Christian writers of monotheistic conceptions and from attempts at theodicy. IV. In the old materialists a rich store of interpolations and corruptions is to be expected. Examination and emendation of passages from Democritus and Antiphon.

Pp. 249-267. Alexander Haggerty Krappe, Die Sage von der Tarpeja. The legend of Tarpeia is not originally a genuine Roman historical saga. Stories of the same general type are found in Greek authors both classical and Hellenistic, and in many oriental sources, particularly in the account given by the annalist Tabarî of the siege and capture of the city of Hadr by the Persian King Šapur I (about 260 A. D.). There are also many medieval versions, especially from Italy, and some of indefinite date (Russian, Indian, etc.). In the Roman version of the legend, as connected with Tarpeia, there are two forms of the story. In the one (A) (Ovid, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Livy, etc.), Tarpeia is bribed by the golden bracelets of the enemy. In the other (B) (Propertius), she is seized by a violent passion for the leader of the hostile forces. In the Greek legends, the versions of class B are in the majority. The oldest variant of class A is found in the story of Scylla in Aeschylus *Choephoroi* 612 ff.). In the oriental legends, the account of Tabarî is the only one that contains the *motif* of a talisman. The medieval versions belong mainly to class B, and some of them show features that are elsewhere found only in certain

accounts of the story of Hadr. Krappe thinks that we are dealing with a rationalization of an early form of the story, probably containing some of the features of the 'Soul of the Ogre' *motif* and resembling in this respect the story of Samson. By this rationalization, the saga was gradually denuded of certain magical elements. The later legends (Italian, etc.) are possibly a fusion of the earlier Roman form of the saga with some form of the Hadr legend that had worked its way westward. Krappe is inclined to deny that the Roman story of Tarpeia owes its existence to the legend of Scylla found in Aeschylus.

Pp. 268-314. Alfred Klotz, *Zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik der Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. Klotz agrees with E. Hohl, the latest editor of the text, in placing a very high valuation on the readings of the group  $\Sigma$ , which in many cases afford the original text or one older than that of P. Some of the corrections in P ( $P^b$  in Hohl) supply omissions that occur also in  $\Sigma$ , and so, in part, are not due to the writer of P. Many of these corrections could have been made by a bold reader. But there are other cases where this is not possible.  $P^b$  is not derived from the source of  $P^1$  alone, but has had the use of another MS. Thus it is evident that  $P^b$  does not always afford the correct reading as against  $P^1$ . In many passages there is a doubt as to whether  $P^1$  or  $P^b$  contains the better reading. However, the MS. used in  $P^b$  is quite similar to the source of P. Both P and  $\Sigma$  came from a MS. in which 13-16 letters composed a line. This points to a MS. in majuscules, or to a MS. that preserved the columns of a majuscule MS. Certain errors in writing point to the assumption that it was written in uncials.  $\Sigma$  is not to be explained from the original source of P alone. Other influences have been at work, since the source of the family  $\Sigma$  has received corrections from another MS. Discussion of various aids to the constitution of the text.

Pp. 315-328. Friedrich Gisinger, *Zur Geographie bei Hesiod*. I. Examination of the list of river gods in *Theog.* 337-345 with a view to determining something of the extent of Hesiod's knowledge of geography. II. Proposed restorations and restored text of *Oxyrh. Pap.* 1358 F2, Plate II. This fragment is evidently part of the *Periodos* mentioned in Strabo (7, 3, 5). In this *Periodos*, which is from the third book of the *Catalogue of Women*, Hesiod told of the Boreads' pursuit of the Harpies on the occasion of their abduction of Phineus. Discussion of the course followed in the pursuit.

Pp. 329-336. Fridericus Marx, *Phalangarii*. Marx here collects various items of information dealing with *phalangarii*. He gives many references, literary, pictorial, and epigraphical, to the custom of carrying burdens suspended from a pole on the

shoulders of two porters. He discusses the origin and variant spellings of the word; the distribution of wine and the wine trade at Rome and Pompeii; and wine vessels of various kinds. At Rome the *phalangarii* had to be '*virī boni et probi et spectatae fidei*' and evidently were members of a guild. In Mantua Marx observed a similar guild in modern times. Two woodcuts are inserted showing *phalangarii* ancient and modern.

Pp. 337-360. Robert Philippson, *Panaetiana*. 1. Die Abfassungszeit der Euthymieschrift. Panaetius probably lived until the year 100 at least. The work *Περὶ εὐθυμίας* was probably written after the year 130, the *Περὶ καθήκοντος* after 129. On a journey with the younger Scipio, Panaetius probably employed their long stay in Alexandria to familiarize himself with the works of Democritus. 2. *Περὶ τῶν αἰρέσεων*. Philippson thinks that this work is of greater significance than has hitherto been recognized. In it Panaetius treated all the great schools of philosophy, and it was of the highest importance for later histories of philosophy. In particular were Diogenes Laërtius and his sources dependent upon it. 3. Die Seelenlehre des Panaitios. From Cicero, *De off.* (1, 101) and *Tusc.* (2, 47) it has been assumed that Panaetius believed that there were two parts of the soul, a rational and an irrational; and that he thus parts with the doctrine of the Stoa, and, in particular, with that of Chrysippus, who, in addition to the *λογικόν*, does not admit the existence of an *ἄλογον*, and thus approaches more nearly the views of Plato and Aristotle. Philippson argues that Panaetius did assume an irrational '*Element*' in the soul, but that he is in agreement with Chrysippus in that neither he nor Chrysippus considers this an irrational '*Teil*'.

Pp. 361-370. Ioannes Herter, *Grattianum*. Notes on the sources of Grattius' *Cynegetica* and on the interpretation of certain passages. Herter thinks that Grattius was influenced by a '*poeta nescio quis aevi hellenistici*'.

Pp. 371-397. Philipp Finger, Die zwei mantischen Systeme in Ciceros Schrift über die Weissagung (*De divinatione* I). The dualism in Cicero's work is due neither to Posidonius nor to Cratippus, but to a 'dualist' whom Finger identifies as Antiochus. Many passages of the work are discussed and commented on at length.

Pp. 398-426. Friedrich Marx, Römische Volkslieder. Under the above title Marx takes occasion to contribute a variety of notes on a number of points connected with the subject. The following is a list of the principal topics discussed: Roman popular poets; early Roman words for poet; the content and meter of certain specimens of early folk poetry; popular festivals; *versus Fescennini*; processions and processional improvisations;

the Saturnian meter: the trochaic septenarius; folk poetry written on walls, columns, etc.; *satura*; later popular poetry; the origin of the musical art; street cries of beggars and street venders; gladiatorial songs; inscriptional verses.

Pp. 427-432. Hugo Koch, Zum Ablativgebrauch bei Cyprian von Karthago und andern Schriftstellern. Citation and discussion of passages from Cyprian, Tertullian, Arnobius, etc. in which appear examples of a peculiar use of the ablative that, in part, can be explained as a kind of ablative of manner, but which Koch prefers to regard as an 'appositive ablative' or '*ablativus explicativus*'.

Pp. 432. A Klotz, Berichtigung. Correction of his note on p. 278.

Pp. 433-436. Register.

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## REVIEWS.

Horazens Epistel über die Dichtkunst. Erklärt von OTTO IMMISCH. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932. Pp. vii + 217. M. 12.80. (Philologus, Supplementband xxiv, Heft 3.)

This monograph reveals in good measure the sanity and independence that we expect in the work of Otto Immisch. For a generation we have had futile discussions of the paragraphing of the *Ars Poetica*, or detective work on its sources. Both are beside the point until one has learned enough of Horace's background to comprehend what he was trying to say to his contemporaries. And that is the kind of task that most specialists in Roman literary studies have for a long time been afraid to touch. Horace certainly, even when he repeated borrowed phrases, put his own content into them, as Immisch has abundantly demonstrated. Jensen's brilliant restoration of a book of Philodemus unfortunately protracted the hunt for sources, since it gave some tangible support to Porphyrio's comment on Neoptolemus. I wish we knew precisely what paragraphs of Philodemus actually refer to Neoptolemus.

A very valuable part of Immisch's study points out that at most Horace touched only the outstanding precepts of Neoptolemus, that in discussing these he frequently differed from and corrected him, and that he said much that could not have been in Neoptolemus at all.

Immisch has, of course, done more than sift the Horatian ideas from those of Neoptolemus. His interpretation of words and phrases is especially fruitful because he has freed his mind from a cramping fashion, and his emphasis on the effects of the *hypsos*-theory on Horace's thought is especially interesting. He has also used with discretion the monograph of Fiske and Grant (*Wisc. Stud.* 1929) on the similarities in Cicero and Horace. He hesitates, as they did, to assume Horace's use of Cicero, and attributes the likenesses to a common stimulus in Antiochus. There is something in this, but when one remembers what an event the publication of the *de Oratore* must have been in the then barren literary world of Rome and how a teacher like Orbilius, especially devoted to native authors, must have devoured it, one does not see why we must always assume that Horace got all his impressions from his brief and turbulent stay at Athens. The question of the *Orator* and the *Brutus* is different, for Horace was probably in Greece when they appeared, and they had temporarily lost their influence before he returned. This is of course why he never discovered Cicero's correction about the dramatic *satura*.



The question of the date of the *Ars*, discussed in the first few pages of Immisch, is rather vital for a study like this, and here I fear he has been over daring. He rejects Porphyrio's statement on the Pisos and prefers the theory of Michaelis. He defends his choice with subjective arguments which are not very compelling, and accordingly accepts the date 20 B. C. Porphyrio's identification would bring us to a date some ten years later. Porphyrio, to be sure, made many mistakes in judgment and in interpretation, but one ought to have firm arguments before rejecting a factitive statement that could so readily have come from well informed authority. In view of Cichorius' demonstration of the literary interests of the Pisos accepted by the scholiast, their connections with Philodemus, and in view of the fact that the *Ars* forms a good summary of ideas that occur in the other epistles, scholars have been quite ready to consider it Horace's last work. And if it belongs to the years 10-8 B. C., the words of Horace about the drama and about music may well apply in part to the trend forced upon these arts by the introduction of the pantomime. The same may possibly apply to Horace's interest in the satyric drama, for it is precisely in the middle years of Augustus' reign that Roman literary experiments escape our knowledge. Finally there can be little doubt that the Heliodorus of *Hor. Sat.* 1, 5 was the famous Apollodorus (*Class. Phil.* 1920, 393). Why is the possible influence of this great man on Horace invariably disregarded?

In general Immisch has done an excellent piece of work and it ought to turn Horatian studies in a fruitful direction at last.

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*The Gorgon's Head and Other Literary Pieces.* By J. G. FRAZER.

With a preface by Anatole France and a portrait of the Author from the bust by Antoine Bourdelle. London: Macmillan and Co., 1927. Pp. xvi, 453.

*Garnered Sheaves: Essays, Addresses, and Reviews.* By J. G. FRAZER. London: Macmillan and Co., 1931. Pp. xi, 538.

The unique position held by this author in the world of scholarship and letters renders the appearance of each of the successive volumes from his pen an event of interest, whether the material thus presented embodies the results of the recent labors of this active mind or—as in the case of most of the contents of the two volumes under review—is a reprint of earlier work. There will be many readers to whom intellectual processes

possess an attraction not inferior to that of the definitive result, and who will be grateful for the opportunity now afforded them of observing the earlier phases of the enunciation of views which have now become standard. To them, too, the occasional and informal remarks of a master like Sir James, and his half-playful improvisations on the literary themes which have attracted his fancy, will be a welcome complement to the more formal treatises which have made his name a household word wherever classical archaeology, the history of religion, and the study of folk-lore are cultivated. And there is probably still a certain reading public which can derive esthetic pleasure from literary production of a high order, combined with the finest scholarly attainment.

The first of these two volumes is a new and enlarged edition of the familiar and delightful "Sir Roger de Coverley and Other Literary Pieces," a work which had caused its author some embarrassment because readers were beginning to accept the imaginary sketches there presented as genuine Addisonian material, and one appeal had actually been received at the British Museum for aid in tracing the sources of so unexpected an addition to our knowledge of the Spectator Club. The phantasy which opens the volume in its present form, and gives it its name, was written many years ago as a recreation after "the somewhat tedious task of translating Pausanias into English"; it is a bold attempt to tell afresh one of the strangest tales in the repertory of ancient Greece, and the enterprise which in other hands might have proved disastrous has been carried to a safe conclusion by the skill and tact of the narrator, a worthy counterpart to the prowess of the youthful Perseus himself.

As for the pages on Sir Roger de Coverley, with their delicate aroma of beauty, I cannot trust myself to speak, but can only transcribe the concluding lines of "Sir Roger in the Temple": "I stood bareheaded, watching him till he disappeared in the shadows. I never saw him again. It was my last parting with Sir Roger. But I humbly trust that we may meet again in a world beyond the shadows, where roses never fade and friends shall part no more."

A large part of the volume is concerned with wider interests. Classical scholars, however, will be attracted by "Roman Life in the time of Pliny the Younger," a descriptive essay which might be read with profit as well as pleasure by all students of the period; and readers of the Bible will be grateful for the exquisite appreciation of that noble literature in "Life's Fitful Fever" and "Beyond the Shadows."

The nature of "Garnered Sheaves" is indicated by the title; most of the pieces are reprinted from classical and other journals; but the following excerpts from the table of contents

will suggest the value of these "sheaves" for the classical harvest: The Prytaneum, the Temple of Vesta, the Vestals, Perpetual Fires; Early Italic Huts; Ares in the Brazen Pot; Βουλυρός, the Loosing of the Ox; the Bedstead of the Flamen Dialis; the Youth of Achilles; the Leafy Bust at Nemi; address at the Jubilee of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies; a History of Greek Religion.

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Alexander der Grosse. Von ULRICH WILCKEN. (Das Wissenschaftliche Weltbild, herausgegeben von P. Hinneberg.) Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1931. Pp. ix, 316; 1 map. M. 12.80.

This is, I think, the best biography of Alexander to date. Wilcken gives us an amazingly complete and accurate picture of Alexander, the chief virtue of which is, perhaps, his adherence to the sources. This is particularly welcome, since many biographers in the past have insisted overmuch on their own interpretations.

In a book with such a wealth of information it is not surprising that four chapters should be devoted to the setting. A sketch of fourth-century conditions is followed by an excellent portrayal of Macedonia and its relations to Greece, in which Isocrates and his policy are nicely defined. The next two chapters deal with the youth of Alexander and the early years of his reign.

The kernel of the book, chapters V-VIII, is of course a study of Alexander's Asiatic expedition. Wilcken succeeds admirably in keeping the full picture before us. As the story of the campaign unfolds, we are frequently informed of the situation in Greece; beside the strategy, tactics and numbers of troops is placed the purpose of Alexander, limited in range at first, but rapidly expanding into one of world conquest and, more important, of world organization, with ramifications which only a few of his companions could comprehend. Again, while Wilcken is careful to note the organization of the satrapies and the financial arrangements, we are reminded of the comparative value of the sources and of Alexander's ambition that the expedition should make large contributions to science.

Alexander aimed, as few have done, at real world conquest. Not only the entire East (for undoubtedly he regarded the halt at the Hyphasis as only temporary) but also the West (if the *hypomnemata* are genuine) was to be incorporated in this empire, and constant exploration was to be carried on until the whole inhabited world was brought within it. The empire was

to be knit together by trading stations and safe lanes of communication. The civilization was to be Hellenic, but since the Macedonians were not numerous enough to defend the empire, Alexander conceived the idea of a fusion of Macedonians and Iranians. The unity of this world empire, as Wilcken brings out so well, rested on Alexander's personality. Alexander did not develop from king of Macedonia into *hegemon* of the Corinthian League, becoming the Great King of Persia and finally a world ruler. Rather, he was at the end all of these. The Asiatic empire was not incorporated in the Macedonian kingdom, but, like the Corinthian League, was an annex joined by personal union to Macedonia.

The mystic strain in Alexander, his great confidence in himself, combined with the new plans he was weaving, probably were the cause, so Wilcken thinks, of the tragedies which overtook Alexander in Asia. In any case, Wilcken has performed a service in showing that the execution of Philotas, if a judicial murder, was not the fault of Alexander but of the assembly of the Macedonian army that tried him, according to custom. The execution of Parmenio that followed was necessary to prevent possible rebellion in his rear. And the death of Cleitus was due to the sudden eruption of human passions, which had long been fed by the growing opposition of the Macedonians to Alexander's new ideas.

In discussing the character of Alexander, Wilcken has done well to show that Alexander regarded the salutation of Ammon as a recognition of the divine power working in him, that his apotheosis by the Greeks was purely religious and not political, and that his introduction of proscynesis was not an attempt to force recognition of himself as a god but rather to express the equal position of the Persians with the Macedonians and Greeks.

A few observations on important points remain. The fundamental differences and difficulties existing between Macedonians and Greeks are so clearly expressed by Wilcken that it is a pity he does not show more precisely that Alexander's real reason in sparing Pindar's house was an attempt to persuade the Greeks to accept him as one of them. Similarly his actions at Troy were performed primarily with an eye to their effect on Greece. His delay at Tarsus did entice Darius finally into Cilicia, but was it not part of a plan? Was not his illness short and used as a pretext for further delay? Alexander had no pious desire to sacrifice in the old temple of Heracles in the island-city of Tyre. What he wanted was possession of this important stronghold, and he was trying his best to get in without a struggle. The palace at Persepolis was burned, not to signify that the campaign of vengeance was over, but that the dynasty of the Achaemenids had ended. Alexander married Roxane for political reasons, not because he was passionately in love with her.

For the one serious chronological problem in the entire campaign Wilcken follows Tarn (whose admirable study in volume VI of the *Cambridge Ancient History* is now familiar to all). By placing the death of Darius in July 330 (where it must be placed, if we accept a single, incidental statement in Plutarch that Alexander remained four months in Persis), Wilcken is unable to get Alexander to the Hindu Kush in time for winter quarters that year, as Arrian and Strabo say he did. The solution, briefly, is to shorten the stay in Persis in order that our important source, Arrian, may be accepted. The incidents with the Amazons and Malli contain important problems for the sources, but Wilcken does not face them. Finally, his statement that the Ephemerides for the last days of Alexander were written later, in order to refute officially the story that Alexander had been poisoned, is surprising. The Ephemerides, our primary source for the campaigns of Alexander, were written regularly from the beginning of the expedition to the end. The explicit quotations from them may all be referred to the end of the expedition, it is true, but this is due to the accidental destruction in India of the Ephemerides for the first years.

The last two chapters of this scholarly and interesting book give an appreciation of Alexander's work and its effects.

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*Musik und Gesang in den Kulturen der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit.* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen, Heft 25.) By JOHANNES QUASTEN. Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930. Pp. xii, 274; 38 plates. M. 19.

A portion (52 pp.) of this work was printed in 1927, and accepted as an inaugural dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Theology by the Faculty of Catholic Theology at Münster. A grant of aid from the "Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft" made possible further research, especially on the archaeological side, leading finally to the publication of this substantial work. The first three parts (pp. 1-77) deal with music in heathen sacrificial cult and mystery religions, and with the discussion of the matter by philosophers. Parts IV and V (pp. 78-194) describe the use of music and song in Christian liturgy and Christian private life; Part VI (pp. 195-247) their use in the heathen and Christian cult of the dead. Pagan writings, Christian writings, and the monuments contribute in equal profusion to present a complete portrayal of the subject. A considerable part of the archaeological material referred to is

published in the thirty-eight plates of the appendix, which adds substantially to the attractiveness and value of a beautifully printed book.

Throughout Quasten's work it is regularly assumed that the cults of Egypt and Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome, from the earliest times to the latest, may be taken together to afford a generalization as to "heathen antiquity." The resulting difficulties are generally ignored. For example, in the cult of the dead he finds music both excluded and admitted, mournful and cheerful, used to drive away ghosts and to summon them (pp. 43 f., 195-216). The general confusion is not surprising, seeing that the references reach from the cuneiform records to Martianus Capella.

As an example of Quasten's loose handling of scanty evidence, one may notice his view that offerings to the dead were without music (pp. 43 f.). He argues that since there was a similarity between the cult of the chthonic deities and that of the dead, and the former was without music, so one should expect the latter to be. Thus, he says, the omission of music in a sacrifice made by Minos after his son's death, and in one made by Tiberius after the death of Augustus, show that the offerings were made, not to the gods, but to the *manes* of the deceased. But the sources show (1) that these were regular sacrifices made to deities, by Minos to the Graces, and by Tiberius to the deity in whose temple the Senate was meeting (Apollod. iii, 15, 8; Suet. *Aug.* 35, *Tib.* 70); and (2) that the music was omitted by Minos because of his grief, and by Tiberius to follow the curious example of Minos in his own mourning for Augustus (Plut. *Mor.* 132 F; Suet. *Tib.* 70). Equally beside the point are the two passages cited to show that libations to the dead were without music. The *ἀλυροὶ ἐλεγχοὶ* of Euripides (*Iph. Taur.* 146) are not associated with libations to the dead, and might well be accompanied by the flute, while the *παῖάν* of Aeschylus (*Choephoroi* 151) would admit of any sort of instrumental accompaniment.

On page 4 one is surprised to find the exclamation *ἰώ*, in a hymn to Zeus, mistaken for an invocation of Io.

While apotropaic power is claimed for ritual music generally (pp. 37-42), the evidence cited associates it principally with percussion instruments, whose metallic clash and clang might well serve to frighten devils away. Quasten is wrong in citing Cumont (p. 38, n. 9) for an apotropaic use of the flute in the cult of Mithras.

As to the bells and cymbals which drive away evil spirits in the Saturnalia and Lupercalia (p. 37), no references are given, and the reviewer is compelled to plead ignorance.

The use of an instrument did not necessarily involve polyphony (p. 92 f.), for it might be played in unison with the

voice (cf. Reinach, *La musique grecque*, 70). Nor do the writers cited by Quasten clearly set the unison song of the Christians in contrast with polyphony (ἑτεροφωνία), or with the use of instruments. The contrast of unison chant and polyphonic music is modern, and it is probably an anachronism to read it into the writings of the Fathers.

Quasten's work is interesting, in that it focuses attention upon an aspect of ancient cult which generally receives slight notice. A multitude of questions is suggested, which deserve further study. Quasten was doubtless led to the subject by his interest in Christian liturgy, so that one may well be more impressed by his industry in collecting the mass of material which relates to "heathen antiquity," than by the sometimes hasty and superficial way in which he treats that material. The book is well indexed, and should be a useful reference work, alike to the student of pagan ritual, of Christian liturgy, and of the history of music.

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HANS DILLER, Die Überlieferung der Hippokratischen Schrift  
 ΠΕΡΙ ΑΕΡΩΝ ΥΔΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΠΩΝ. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche  
 Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932. (Philologus, Supplementband  
 XXIII, Heft III.)

Among all the books of the Hippocratean Corpus, no book has received of late greater attention from scholars than the book on *Airs, Waters and Places*. In 1931, Dr. Ludwig Edelstein published an interesting study on this book and on other questions connected with the Corpus. Dr. Edelstein, who is a philologist and a former pupil of Professor Regenbogen in Heidelberg, is at present an assistant of Professor Diepgen, the newly appointed professor of the History of Medicine at the University of Berlin. Dr. Edelstein's study is of importance in connection with the work of Dr. Hans Diller, whose study of the manuscript tradition of the book is the subject of this review. Dr. Edelstein breaks completely with the old traditions that assign to Hippocrates at least a few books in the Corpus. He accepts, therefore, the statement of von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf that "Hippocrates is a name without writings". Von Wilamowitz himself was especially interested in the book on *Airs, Waters and Places* and included parts of it in his "Griechisches Lesebuch" (second edition, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1902, volume 1, pages 199-207). He considered it to be the work of a medical geographer who lived during the time of Pericles.

Dr. Hans Diller's study of the manuscript tradition of the book on *Airs, Waters and Places*, is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the text. Dr. Diller, who is a pupil of Professor Klinger, former Professor of Latin at the University of Hamburg, followed his teacher to Leipzig, and has worked in the Institute of Medical History at Leipzig under the personal direction of Professor Henry E. Sigerist, who has accepted the Chair of Medical History at the Johns Hopkins University. Both Edelstein and Diller, therefore, are trained philologists who have done valuable work in the field of medical history. The manuscripts of the book on *Airs, Waters and Places* are comparatively few. (*Die Handschriften der Antiken Ärzte*. I. Teil. Hippokrates und Galenos. Herausgegeben von H. Diels. Berlin 1905. Verlag der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, page 4, section 6.) The most important manuscript is Vaticanus 276 of the twelfth century, together with B, a fifteenth century manuscript in Rome, listed by Diels as Barberinus I 5. In addition to these two manuscripts there are readings from a lost codex called "b" by Kühlewein, given in the manuscript notes of a Venetian physician Gadaldinus (1515-1575) which were originally written on the margins of copies of the Aldine and the Basle editions of Hippocrates. Friederich Dietz discovered the original manuscript notes on the margins of the two copies already mentioned which were in the Ambrosian Library and which, until the time of this discovery, had been known only through an imperfect printing of them on the margins of the Latin translation of the book on *Airs, Waters and Places* in the Latin edition of Hippocrates by Cornarius (Froben, Basel, 1546). Besides these two manuscripts and these notes of Gadaldinus from the lost codex, there are two later Paris manuscripts, 2255 of the fifteenth century and 2146 of the sixteenth, as well as a Latin translation of the book (Parisinus 7027), which is occasionally helpful in difficult passages.

Dr. Diller begins the study with a very useful review of our knowledge of the manuscript tradition since the time of Littré. The rest of the study is divided into four chapters. The first discusses the Greek manuscripts already mentioned and the notes of Gadaldinus based on the lost manuscript that Kühlewein in his Teubner edition of Hippocrates calls "b". The next chapter deals with the older Latin translations which are preserved in the Paris manuscript 7027 already mentioned and in the Ambrosianus G 108, this later manuscript being incomplete. The following chapter discusses the later Latin translations from the fourteenth century onward, which are preserved in ten manuscripts, scattered through various libraries of Europe (Diller, *o. c.*, page 57). Dr. Diller also prints, in its entirety, the Latin translation of Avicenna and then discusses the Greek text that



is given in Galen's commentary on the book *Airs, Waters and Places*. The last chapter deals with the secondary tradition and traces similarities of language between the Hippocratic book and a fragment of Euripides quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi, 2, 22) and a passage from Aristotle (*Politics*, 1327 b 16 ff.). Finally, Diller discusses the quotations from the Hippocratic book in Ruphus of Ephesus and Oreibasios.

The scope of this review prevents me from citing examples of difficult readings that have been illuminated by Dr. Diller's collation of the manuscripts. Diller feels that Dietz tended to over-emphasize the value of the readings from the lost manuscript "b". Unless one knows "*Airs, Waters and Places*" almost by heart, it is difficult to follow some of Diller's references to the Greek text as he does not cite the passages from the text of either Littré or Kühlewein but apparently from a Greek text edited by G. Gundermann in 1911 (No. 77, *Lietzmanns Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, cf. Diller, *o. c.*, p. 5). So far as I have been able to discover, no very startling changes in the accepted text have been found.

The fact that modern Hippocratic scholars have finally given up all attempts to discover in the *Corpus* books that might be attributed to the historical Hippocrates, will not be without influence on other questions of classical philology. The critics who have believed that certain books of the *Corpus*, including the book on *Airs, Waters and Places*, were authentic productions of the physician Hippocrates, deduced from this book the fact that the writer must have spent a great deal of his time among the Scythians and in Thrace. On the basis of this assumption, scholars who studied the Greek style of the books associated with the name of Hippocrates tended to explain many of the difficult Greek constructions by assuming that the author was writing Thracian or barbarian Greek or at least that his Greek style had been contaminated by constant living in the north. This view together with all its implications will have to be given up when the conclusions of such scholars as Edelstein are accepted and Hippocratic critics are willing to admit once and for all that Hippocrates is indeed "a name without writings".

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The Priapea and Ovid: A Study of the Language of the Poems.

By RICHARD FREDERICK THOMASON, PH. D. Nashville,  
Tenn.: George Peabody College for Teachers, 1931. Pp.  
v + 100.

The present dissertation deals with the Priapea, an Augustan collection of eighty-one elegant and witty, but jocose and licentious poems, written in honor of Priapus, which have come down to us in the manuscripts under the name of Vergil. The collection is named among the Vergilian *opuscula* by both Donatus, Servius and the Murbach catalogue; it therefore necessarily found a place in nearly all the early editions of Vergil, beginning with the *princeps* of 1469. It seems also to have been accepted by the younger Pliny as Vergilian, since he speaks (*Ep.* v, 3, 2 ff.) of Vergil as "preeminently a writer of unchaste verses". Scaliger (1573) protested vehemently against assigning so extensive a collection of ribald poems to the saintly Vergil, and since his time the Priapea has been omitted from editions of the Appendix and has appeared only in anthologies. Even before Scaliger many of the Christian copyists of the Middle Ages had shown a similar repugnance and had omitted the collection from the *Libellus* (the principal part of the Appendix), so that one or two manuscripts, such as Laurent. 33, 31, even give a corrected title *Diversorum auctorum Priapeia*. Hence even today nothing is more common among critics than to speak of the editor who 'copied off' and 'collected' the verses written by many aristocratic dilettanti upon the walls of the shrines of Priapus. The actual language of the second preface (2, 9 ff.) is, however, something quite different: 'I beg you, Priapus, to excuse these casual verses that in my idle moments I have scribbled (*notavi*) upon the walls of your temple'. In view of this explicit statement and in view also of the refined and exquisite metrical technique of all the poems, it is evident that they proceed from a single author who uses the custom of writing indecorous verses upon temple walls only as an excuse for his own licentious volume. Dr. Thomason further shows in his admirable introduction (p. 6) that the great Priapea is the only collection of this kind ascribed by the ancients to Vergil, and that there is not the least manuscript authority for giving this title to the three short poems of Priapus which stand at the head of the Catalepton roll.

The question arises who is the author of our witty and ingenious volume, which professes to be written for the garden of the scarecrow-god Priapus, but which shows in fact the most extensive acquaintance with Greek literature and mythology, and cites also technical Greek hand-books of the erotic art (4, 2; 63, 17). The elder Seneca gives us an answer in *Contr.* i, 2,

22 in a passage in which the brilliant and dissolute Mamercus Scaurus quotes *Ovidianum illud*, '*inepta loci*', the reference being to *Priap.* 3, 7 f. Seneca's attestation of Ovidian authorship naturally applies to the whole book, just as it would not be necessary to attest each single poem in Book I of Horace's Odes. [Professor E. K. Rand is therefore mistaken when he states (*Ovid*, p. 6) that we have not "the slightest scrap of positive evidence" touching youthful poems of Ovid. De Mirmont (*Jeunesse d'Ovide*, p. 115) is more correct when he writes that "the declaimers even knew and quoted poems of Ovid which are not found today in the collection of his complete works."]

Dr. Thomason cites (pp. 9, 52, 56) many excellent modern critics, such as Scaliger, Burman, Wernicke, Buecheler, Baehrens and Teuffel-Kroll, who have recognized Ovid as the author of very many of these poems. The most satisfactory testimony, however, is that of Poliziano, the famous humanist of the fifteenth century, who attributed the whole of the *Priapea* to Ovid: "Quae *Priapeia* vocantur epigrammata . . . esse nec Virgilii, sed Ovidii deprehendo. Sed et stylus (ni fallor) et prorsum Ovidiana quaequam in iis versibus germana lascivia." Poliziano's judgment is fully confirmed by the extremely detailed, painstaking and careful study of the language which Dr. Thomason has made in his admirable monograph. Thus in the 196 elegiac lines of the *Priapea* there are 221 phrases (p. 23) which are found only in Ovid among all the poets of the Golden Age. This is an average of more than one and one-eighth such exclusively Ovidian phrase to each line. Furthermore, forty-seven of the phrases occur at least twice in Ovid, while twenty-five of them occur at least four times. [Similarly in the thirty-eight verses of *Copa* there are sixty-five exclusively Ovidian phrases and collocations of words. In the 414 verses of *Culex* there are more than 400 such Ovidian phrases. Also 100 verses of three Lygdamus elegies (i, iii and v) show 104 Ovidian phrases not found elsewhere in our poets (*Class. Phil.* XXII 366 f.). This average of one exclusively Ovidian phrase to each verse is maintained in all the poems of the two Appendixes.] Again in the ninety-eight iambic and hendecasyllabic verses which are treated by Thomason there are seventy-four exclusively Ovidian phrases. This is an average of three such phrases to every four of these short lines. The *Priapea* shows also ten words (*blaesus*, *Apollineus*, etc.) which were first introduced by Ovid (p. 12); four of these occur in exclusively Ovidian phrases. [I have noted only one serious error. It is stated (p. 13) on the authority of Linse that *Phidiacus* is an Ovidian coinage. This is incorrect, for the word occurs earlier in *Prop.* iii, 9, 15.] An excellent feature of the study relates to the use of legal language by the poet (p. 20), who was both police commissioner and president of the centumviral court.

The close relation existing between *Copa* and *Priap.* 27 is also well shown, the same seductive castanet dancer appearing in both poems.

In the *Priapea*, as in the *Lygdamus* Elegies, the pentameters almost always have a dissyllabic close (p. 86). In the whole distich the percentage of dactyls is 49.5%, which is a little below that of *Her.* 20 and 21. Ovid will eventually reach 57% in the distich, but in the slow and stately language of *Latium* he will never quite equal the Greek elegiac (61%), and he will always fall far short of the rapidity of the Homeric hexameter (68%)! In respect to the caesura the mature Ovid completed the work begun by Catullus and the neoterics (Norden, *Aen.* vi. p. 419). Although Virgil allows an exceptional caesura once in 24 1/22 verses (Havet, *Métr.*, pp. 46 ff.), Ovid rejects this compromise and practically reduces his caesuras to the two best only—the penthemimeral and the hephthemimeral accompanied by both the triemimeral and the feminine caesura. This great artistic advance is clearly seen both in the *Priapea* and the *Maecenas* (p. 92). For in 187 hexameters these two works carefully avoid the eight rarer caesuras which Vergil would have allowed, and they are therefore the first poems composed in the Latin language (12-8 B. C.) in which the exquisite Ovidian refinements respecting the caesura are perfectly observed.

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### CORRECTION.

Professor W. B. Dinsmoor has called my attention to the fact that in the restoration of IG<sup>2</sup> I. 255a (A. J. P. LIII 275) *συνάρχουσι* should be read in line 329 instead of *χσυνάρχουσι*, as the second *lambda* of *Καλλίο* (line 329) falls under the second *alpha* of *ταμία* in line 328. Lines 329-331 should therefore be restored as follows:

329 [ν καὶ συνάρχουσι τοῖς ἐπὶ Κ]αλλίο ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς β[ολῆς ἡέ-]  
 330 [ι.....ἐ]γραμμάτευεν □ ἐκ τοῦ Πρόνε[ο....]  
 331 [στέφανος χρυσὸς : | : σταθμ]ὸν τοῦτο : ΔΔΔ | + + | | |.

In line 330 there is a space of 19 letters for the name of the secretary, and a space of four letters at the end which was probably left blank. The entries began in line 331. Between *χρυσὸς* and *σταθμὸν* there is a space of two letters for the numeral. The marks of punctuation which are usually found at either side of the numeral may have been crowded into this space, or else they were omitted as is the case occasionally.

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